

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS  
IN ANCIENT INDIA



# Economic and Political Conditions in Ancient India

AS DESCRIBED IN THE JATAKAS

BY

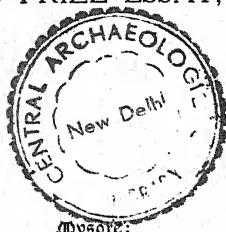
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The following works were consulted in the preparation of the essay :

The Jataka : 6 Vols., Cambridge University Press.

Rhys Davids: Buddhist India.

Vincent Smith : Ancient India.

Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western World, 2 Vols.

McCrindle : Ancient India ; Its Invasion by Alexander the Great.

Chanakya : The Arthasastra. (English translation of Books i.—iv. published in pamphlet form).

A few additional references are given in the foot-notes to some other works, which were also consulted. Mrs. R. Davids' articles in the Economic Journal, and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1901 (referred to by Professor R. Davids in the Chapter on "Economic Conditions"), Feer's Etudes sur les Jatakas, and Fick's Sociale Gliederung zu Buddha's zeit were not accessible.

The quasi-historical introductions which were considered by Professor Cowell to be "the laboured invention of a later age" have been sparingly utilised, but doubt in their general "historical credibility" has not been allowed to prevent the inclusion of what appeared to be facts of value and interest.

The passages in the stories referred to in the essay have been independently collected and analysed, while the general scheme is claimed to be original in the sense that it would suggest itself independently to any student of History and Economics.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Jataka book consists of stories, professing to have been related by the Buddha in order to illustrate, and moralise upon, some episodes of his own time. It is believed to have been put into the form in which we now possess it in the fifth century after Christ, but many of the "stories of the past" are far older, as they have been illustrated in the bas-reliefs of the third century before Christ. "How far our unknown author has varied from the tradition handed down to him, and how far that tradition has, with respect at least to the historical inferences suggested by it, preserved the tone and character of that much more ancient date"\* are questions of vital importance to the results of the present essay. Scholars like Fick and Bühler are of opinion that "the verses and the prose part of the stories themselves, as distinct from the framework, have been scarcely altered from the state in which they were when they were handed down from mouth to mouth among the early Buddhists," that "there are remarkably few traces of Buddhism in those stories, and they do not describe the condition of India in the third or fourth century B.C., but an older one."† We must content ourselves here with merely stating their opinion, for it is not our task to discuss the historical value of the Jataka book; nor are we concerned with its interest not only for the pious Buddhist, but also for the student of comparative religion, or with its literary value, abounding

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 201, with verbal alterations

† Quoted by Rhys Davids, p. 202.

as it does with many a noble passage, like the fairy's lament where "nature is invoven with its passion".

Before entering upon our task, which is to focus the light the stories throw upon the political and economic conditions of the time, it will improve the picture if a background is presented of the natural, social, and religious conditions that obtained. No apology is needed for doing so at a time of the day when the organic character of society and inter-dependence of human activities are familiar conceptions to the man in the street. When Cousin offered to predict, given "the map of a country, its configuration, its climate, its water, its winds, its natural productions, its botany, its zoology, all its physical geography", "what will be the man of that country, and what place that country will occupy in history",\* he was in company with Montesquieu and Buckle, but laying excessive emphasis on an element which "has in reality acted with a potency needing no exaggeration",† No explanation of the culture of Athens or the decay of Rome can be complete, which takes no account of the presence of slave-labour. And we have been told that "the theory of the Divine Right of Kings . . . in its developed form was forged on the anvil of the Reformation", even as the "differences (in faith) between Sovereign and subjects led to the expression of a theory of popular rights in the form in which it passed over to the French Revolution".‡

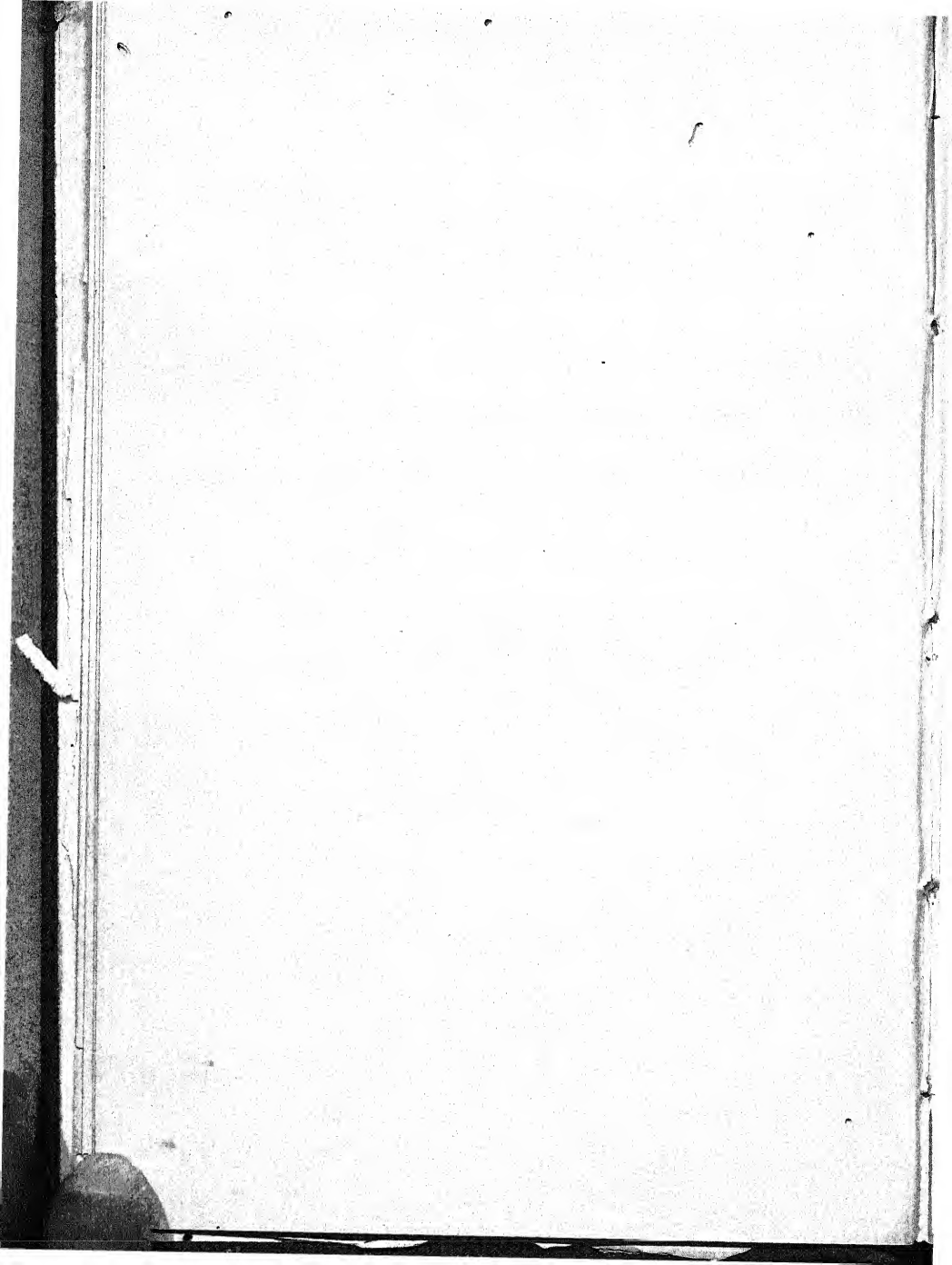
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\* Quoted by Cliffe Leslie in "Essays in Political and Moral Philosophy", p. 129.

† Cliffe Leslie, p. 129.

‡ "Cambridge Modern History", Vol. III., Chapter 22.

## I. BACKGROUND





## A. NATURAL CONDITIONS

Nature is described as being, on the whole, bountiful to man. Noble rivers, "whose broadening waves with every fish that swims are said to teem", water the plains. Vegetation is rich, and nature responds generously to man's efforts. Forests on the hills and in the plains abound with game and pasturage, affording sustenance to the hunter and the herdsman alike; nor are the mineral deposits inconsiderable. The climate is favourable, though the days are very hot in summer; and it is only in the Himalayan regions that a warming-pan is needed against the severity of winter.

The seasons are distinctly marked off, and there is a rainy season, which lasts about four months. It is at this point that we realise the one serious lack in the natural endowments of the country. The rains are periodic and not distributed throughout the year. They are liable to fail, and do fail leading to "drought . . . famine . . . pestilence". That droughts and famines were matters of familiar experience is shown by the following realistic details, collected from the various passages which refer to droughts and famines: "There was a drought in the land; the country became as it were scorched up. Water gave out in tank and in pool, and the fishes and tortoises buried themselves in mud. The crows and other birds flocking to the spot, picked them out with their beaks and devoured them. Sore distress fell upon all beasts. The crops withered, and the corn grew not. The people thought that lack of food might produce a pestilence; and there was fear of drought and fear of famine. These

three fears were even present before them. The people wandered about destitute hither and thither, leading their children by the hand. Men being unable to live resorted to robbery."<sup>\*</sup>

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\* The translation has "used robbery" (vi. 487).

## B. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

### I. SOCIAL GRADES

The Jatakas tell us of the division of the people into Brahmins, Khattiyas, Vessas, Suddas, Candalas and Pukkusas, in addition to which the off-spring of unions between persons of two different divisions formed a number of intermediate classes (iv. 363). The interesting questions as to whether these divisions implied all the rigour of the caste system of later times, and whether the Brahmins or Khattiyas had precedence, do not concern us here. What is of importance is the fact that while priestly functions were monopolised by Brahmins, and political offices by Khattiyas and Brahmins—with the possible exception of the Treasurership—all participated equally in economic pursuits, and the "life of mechanics or tradesmen" was not considered, as in ancient Greece, "ignoble and inimical to virtue."

For example, we read of Brahmins\* as physicians (iv. 361), goat-herds (iii. 401), merchants, hunters, snake-charmers (iv. 457), carpenters (iv. 207), farmers, and road-cleaners (vi. 348). A prince takes to trade (iv. 84), while another goes to the frontier, and dwells "with a rich merchant's family, working with his own hands" (iv. 169). King Kusa, in his infatuation for Pabhavati, takes to pottery, basket-making, garland-making, and kitchen service, successively. The son of a merchant works with a potter (vi. 369), while a "decayed merchant-family"

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\* Jataka No. 495 gives a long list of the various occupations of Brahmins.

takes to farming (vi. 364). In none of these cases is there any suggestion of degradation.\*

Candalas, who are called "the lowest race that go upon two feet . . . . meanest men on earth" (iv. 397), lived a life apart from that of others. They were considered unclean, and contact with them was pollution. They dwelt away from the town† in what were known as Candala settlements. It naturally followed that the occupations they could follow were limited. They lived by hunting,‡ and street-sweeping was another occupation in which they attained considerable proficiency (iv. 390). The only offices they could aspire to were the gruesome one of the executioner,§ and the protectorship of the city during night (iii. 30).

## II. THE FAMILY

Marriage, at a comparatively early age, was a matter of course both for men and women. A match was arranged by the parents, and the consent of the contracting parties was assumed or purely formal, and their unwillingness was even disregarded.

Although a man thus began life with a wife, it did not mean, however, a separate establishment. The girl came to live with the parents of her husband (iii. 162), and the family property was managed by them,\*\* or by the eldest

\* It should be noticed, however, that a Brahmin hunter is referred to as the "outcast" Brahmin (vi. 179, 217).

† "The Candalas are named 'evil men' and dwell apart from others; if they enter a town or market, they sound a piece of wood in order to separate themselves; then men, knowing who they are, avoid coming in contact with them" (Beal I. xxxviii).

‡ "The Candalas only hunt fish and sell flesh" (Ibid).

§ Clay Cart Act X.

\*\* "In days to come, when respect shall cease to be paid to age . . . . men shewing no reverence for parents or parents-in-law shall themselves administer the family estate . . . . then shall the old folks, destitute and dependent, exist by favour of their own children" (i. 337).

surviving son. Though they all lived together, the family was not that species of a "joint undivided Hindu family, no member of which, while it remains undivided can predicate of the joint undivided property, that he, that particular member has a certain definite share."<sup>\*</sup> For brothers were entitled, and knew they were entitled, to equal shares of the family estate.

Supporting parents in their old age was an imperative duty enjoined by religion and tradition. The idea is so deep set in the minds of the people that even animals are represented as supporting their parents. They are declared to be "no true children who nourish not a father when he is old."

### III. SLAVERY.

Slavery was common, and slaves were an esteemed form of wealth. But "we hear nothing of such later developments as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman latifundia, or the plantations of Christian slave owners scenes of misery and oppression".<sup>†</sup> Nor did the presence of slavery lead "to the prevalence among the citizen class of a contempt for industrial occupations . . . . the only noble forms of activity being those directly connected with public life, whether military or administrative".<sup>‡</sup> For the most part slaves were household servants.<sup>§</sup> A female slave was engaged in cooking (v. 105), fetching water, drying grain in the sun (i. 484), and such duties, while a male slave would similarly "hand the plates and dishes, bring the spittoon, and fetch the fans" for the master (i. 453).

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<sup>\*</sup> Lord Westbury. Quoted by Maine (Early History of Institutions, p. 79).

<sup>†</sup> and § Rhys Davids, p. 55.

<sup>‡</sup> Ingram: "History of Political Economy", p. 9.

Slavery arose in India, as elsewhere, through conquest, debt, crime and birth ;

i. *Capture and Sale.* Robbers often "raided the country side ; and having assailed a town, and taken prisoners, laden with spoil returned to the border" (iv. 220), where there was a traffic in slaves (v. 497).

ii. *Free Will.* We are told that some came "of their own will as slaves" (vi. 285). Among these were, no doubt, persons who had mortgaged themselves, or had been mortgaged by their relatives, in satisfaction of a debt.\* There were probably others who had "bowed their head for meat in evil days."†

iii. *Judicial Punishment.* Criminals were given away as slaves.

iv. *Birth.* Some are said to be "slaves from their mother" (vi. 285); and 'home-born' slaves are also mentioned (vi. 117).

Slaves seem to have been, on the whole, not badly treated. The master might even take a fancy to a slave and have him taught handicrafts or make him his private secretary (i. 451). But there was "a slave's fare", which was evidently not inviting (i. 459), and a disobedient slave could be "beaten, imprisoned, and branded" (i. 451). There is also an instance of a slave girl who was "thrown down at the door of a house while her master

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\* Chanakya (II. Chapter 13): "If, in order to tide over family troubles, to find money for fines or court decrees, or to recover the (confiscated) household implements, the life of an Arya is mortgaged, they (his kinsmen) shall as soon as possible redeem him . . . . . Any person who has voluntarily enslaved himself shall, if guilty of an offence, be a slave for life"

† As was the case in Anglo-Saxon England ; Stubbs : Const. History, Vol. i, p. 84, note 4.

and mistress beat her with rope-ends, because she had not brought home her wages"\* (i.402). It is not clear whether the master had any right over the person of a female slave.†

Slaves could become free on payment of a stipulated sum (vi.547). Otherwise the only chance was voluntary manumission by the owner (v.313).

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\* Evidently her services had been "rented out".

† A slave girl is asked her name and her mother's name (vi. 369). The expression "Home-born" slave may be significant in this connection (vi. 117, 554), cp. Chanakya, III., Chapter 13.

### C. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

The religious teaching of the time, Buddhist and otherwise, is of interest to us, since it preached an ascetic ideal of life, which, to the extent it was accepted and followed, meant the withdrawal of so many persons from economic activities. Though we may be sure that there was no *en masse* exodus to the Himalayas, as some Jatakas would suggest, we may well believe that some "saw how from passion springs pain, and how bliss comes by the abandonment of passion" (i. 245), and having "no desire for a married life" (iii. 93), adopted "the ascetic life" (iii. 110), either directly on attaining manhood, or after a long or short spell of married life. They retired to the Himalayan regions, or entered a Buddhist monastery.

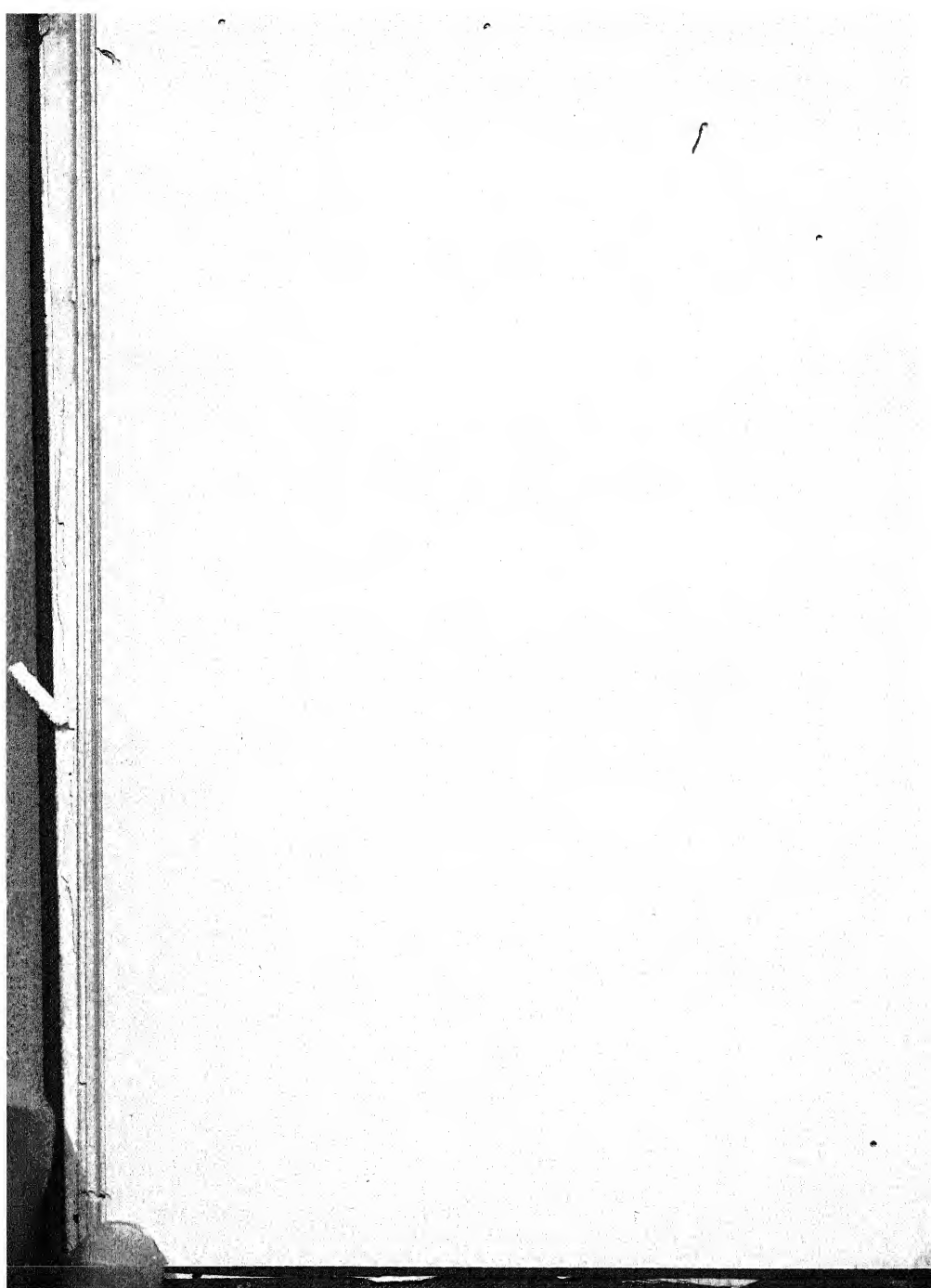
They became a charge on the producing members of society. For the abandonment of the world did not mean segregation from it. Although nature was on the whole well-disposed towards ascetics during the better part of the year, the rains made it necessary for them to "seek a fixed abode" (ii. 273), and they do not seem to have been able to dispense altogether with the vanities of the world. They are frequently mentioned as returning to the "haunts of men" (i. 361), as much for "salt and seasoning" as for shelter against the rains.

Not only did kings welcome "these ascetics of great austerity, subduing the flesh, and of great virtue" (i. 361), but the kindly citizens also gave them alms as they went about begging. "They were entertained now by a single family, now by three or four families together, or a body

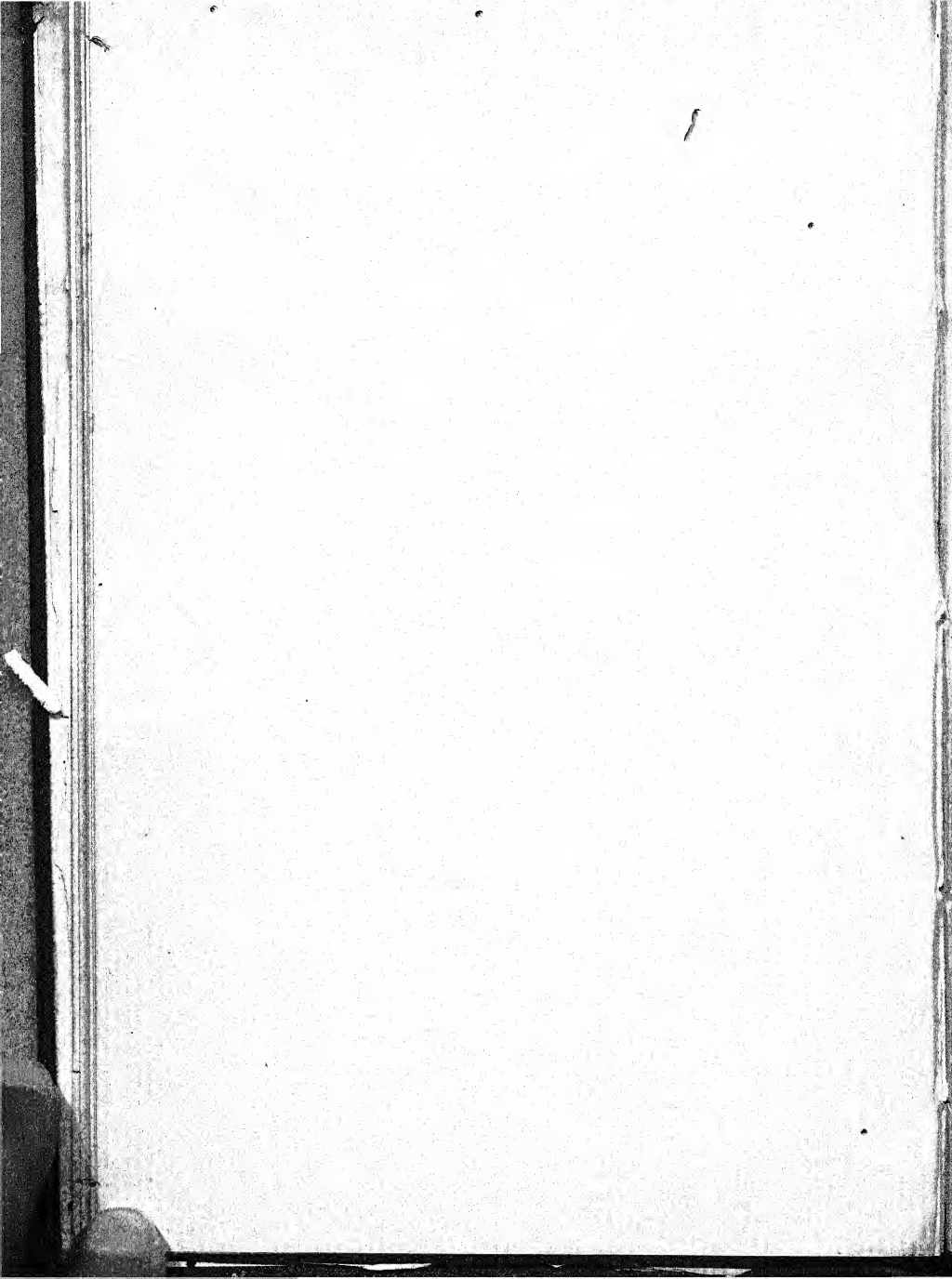


of people, or a whole street would club together, or sometimes the whole city entertained them."

Alms giving was not confined to ascetics only; kings and wealthy merchants built bounty-halls where they "gave gifts to the poor, the wayfarers, the beggars, the suitors and the like" (iii. 470). An attractive practice of the time was that the people of a city "used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads and had them taught free" (i. 239).



## II. POLITICAL CONDITIONS



## • A. FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The Jatakas "reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence".\* Among such were the Cetis, whose sixty thousand princes came out to meet the exiled Vessantara on his way to the Vamka hill, and asked him to stay with them and govern the state (vi. 575-7), the Vajji people (vi. 238), an important branch of whom were the Licchavis who had "always seven-thousand seven-hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom" (i. 504), the famous Sakiyas, who lived "in a place subject to the authority of the King of Kosala" (iv. 145). and their neighbours, the Koliyas (v. 413). The Mallas are also said to have had a similar form of government,† but the Jatakas give us no information on the point.

There is little to say about the details of government in these republics. There was a single chief, but nothing more is known about him. The Licchavis had kings, viceroys, and generals, and treasurers (i. 504). The affairs of the clan were, no doubt, discussed in an assembly, whose membership was very large. This assembly of the leading members of the clan met in a "royal rest-house"‡ (iv. 7-24); once, we read, it was to discuss a marriage alliance (iv. 145), and another time to arrange to meet a prince of a neighbouring royal house (iv. 146)

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 2, cp. Chanakya I. 17. "Sovereignty may be the property of a clan, for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature."

† Rhys Davids, p. 19.

‡ Rhys Davids calls it a "common mote-Hall" (Ibid).

Monarchy was, of course, the predominant form and the Jatakas give us considerable information about it, and we shall be occupied with it in the following sections. Before closing this section, attention must be called to the fact that some clans were monarchical at first and became republican in later times.\* The "stories of the past" represent the Cetis (iii. 454), the Mallas and the Videhans, as ruled by kings.

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\* This is noticed in the case of the Videhans by Rhys Davids, p. 26.

## B. THE KING

### I. CEREMONIAL AND SPECTACULAR

The king lived in a magnificent palace, which was seven-storied and adorned with towers and pinnacles. Great staircases led to the various storeys, which were self-contained. There was a courtyard, opening into which were the cow pen, the granary, the treasure room and other apartments. There was a terrace in front of each storey, which overlooked the yard and the streets. The terrace and the courtyard were sometimes used as presence-halls, although there was a separate durbar-hall (i. 470). A feature of interest was the gaming-room, which was furnished with silver tables and golden dice.

The king had a large harem, whose size was corresponding to the greatness of his kingdom (iv. 316), but only one of the wives was the queen-consort.

✓ The insignia of royalty were the sword, umbrella, diadem, slippers, and fan, in connection with which there ✓ were officers of honour like the Keeper of the Umbrella, ✓ and the Sword-bearer (vi. 38). There was also a state ✓ charger (i. 184), a state elephant (ii. 325), and a state ✓ chariot (i. 175).

The king was approached with presents in hand, and it was a special privilege to be allowed to approach without ceremony (vi. 345).

He often went in state procession round the city right-wise attended by courtiers, minstrels, and a vast retinue, and the city was decorated for the occasion ; or he would go and disport himself in his park outside the city. The pleasure-ground contained a tank, in which the king bathed

on state occasions (v. 476) or amused himself with his harem. His other amusements were shooting at a mark in the garden (iv. 272), or hunting in the forest. He sometimes joined with the people to witness an exhibition of the snake-charmer's art (iv. 458) and took part in other public amusements (iv. 157).

In spite of all his splendour, the King lived in perpetual dread of his life. He had a body of armed men known as "Superior Officers" whose duty it was to be in personal attendance on him (iii. 237). The door-keepers had strict orders to suffer no one to pass out of the palace or come in during night. There were birds in the royal bedroom (iv. 418), which was high up in the palace (i. 140). But although the bed was watched by numerous guards "girt with their swords", the unfortunate king used to toss about and pass restless nights (vi. 25).

## II. POSITION OF THE PRINCES

Princes were sent in their sixteenth year for instruction, and "though there might be a famous teacher living in their city", kings "often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness (sic) and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world" (ii. 277). On finishing their education, they "wandered through towns and villages and all the land" before returning home, in order "to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances" (iii. 238). On returning home, the eldest was made viceroy and "took some share in ruling the kingdom" (ii. 311), while the younger son was made commander-in-chief (i. 133). Others, when they came of age, "married and settled down living as the king's



companions"\* (ii. 116), or "the king gave them each a province and let them go".

The normal life of the heir-apparent was that "he amused himself as prince, ruled as viceroy, and reigned as king". But it often happened that he became impatient, and desired to hasten the pace of events. We read of a prince, who, "when his father was gone to disport himself in the pleasure gardens, beheld his great glory, and conceived a longing for it". He thought, "my father is more like a brother; if I shall wait for his death, I shall be an old man before I succeed to the crown. What good will it do me to get the kingdom then? I will kill my father and make myself king." "Then he consulted with his attendants, and they fell in with the idea and devised a plot to kill the king", which was successful (v. 263). A common expedient was to go to the frontier and rebel (iii. 216).

We need not be surprised, therefore, to read that kings became suspicious of their sons, and "had them kept in a secret place and gave orders that at their death, they were to be brought forth and set upon the throne" (iii. 122), or banished them from the kingdom to return only to occupy the vacant throne. Heirs who had plotted unsuccessfully to seize the throne were "bound in chains and put into the prison house," and they were released, only on the death of the king, to be set on the throne.†

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\* The princes did not live in the palace but elsewhere (ii. 256, iv. 191, vi. 491, 498, 502).

† In the chapter on *Rajaputrarakshnam* (I. Ch. 17), Chanakya quotes six previous writers who, agreeing that "princes, like crabs, have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetters," suggest in case they are wanting in filial affection, they should be i. "punished in secret," or ii. "kept under in a definite place," or iii. "under the custody of boundary guards," or iv. "inside a fort

### III. SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN.

The throne was usually hereditary, and the eldest son of the queen-consort succeeded to it on the death or abdication of his father, failing whom the throne went to the nearest male relation. That the right of the eldest was imperative is seen from the refusal of the courtiers to allow a younger son to be crowned on the death of the king for the reason that his elder brothers were dwelling in the forest (iv. 125), and it was only by clever scheming that a youngest son obtained the throne to the exclusion of his brothers who were in the provinces when the king died; even then he had to ward off their attack on his capital by conciliatory means (iv. Jataka No. 462).

It was but rarely that the heir apparent was set aside. Extreme youth was felt sometimes to be a disadvantage (ii. 297), but not always so (ii. 22). Once the heir is said to have been set aside because he was "an idle, lazy loafer" (ii. 264). It was perhaps not also unusual for the people of a kingdom to drive a fierce and passionate prince into exile, dreading what he may become when king (i. 507).

There are instances to show that though there was nothing like a regular resort to election or free choice, heredity was not always binding, and strangers could be placed upon the throne with the general consent of the people. The idea of election was certainly current, for we read that the people and animals of the first cycle each chose a ruler (ii. 352), and monkeys are said to meet and choose a king (i. 283). There are numerous instances when strangers to the royal family are chosen to be kings,

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belonging to a foreign king far away from the State," or v. "made to live with the maternal relations," or vi. "suffered to dissipate their lives by sensual excess." Chanakya himself is of opinion that they should be trained by adepts under proper discipline.

of which the following is a type : A king fell in love with an ogress, who had assumed a beautiful form and was following a prince (of another country) who refused to be allured by her, and took her to his palace. In the night, she and her fellow ogres ate up the king and all the royal household. Then the people "took counsel together, as follows : 'The man that could so master his senses as not so much as to look at the ogress as she followed him in her divine beauty, is a noble and steadfast man, filled with wisdom. With such a one as king, it would be well with the whole kingdom. Let us make him our king.' And all the courtiers and all the citizens of the kingdom were one-minded in the matter " (i. 399).

The Jatakas tell us of a very interesting practice, to which people had recourse when the kingdom lacked an heir. This was known as "the festal car ceremony". When a king died leaving no heir, the family priest performed the funeral rites, and "proclamation was made through the city by beat of drum, that on the morrow the festal car would be prepared" (iv. 39). "And having decorated the city and yoked four lotus-coloured horses to the festive chariot, and spread a coverlet over them and fixed the five ensigns of royalty, they surrounded them with an army of four hosts. . . . The family priest, having bid them sound the musical instruments behind, and having sprinkled the strap of the car and the god with a golden ewer, bade the chariot proceed to him who has merit sufficient to rule the kingdom. The car went solemnly round the palace and proceeded up the kettle-drum road. The general and the other officers of the state each thought that the car was coming to him, but it passed by the houses of them all, and having gone solemnly round the city it went out by the eastern gate and passed onwards to the

park" (vi. 39). The "ceremonial stone" in the park was the conventional place, where the future king was found sleeping, having arrived there that very day from far off. He was roused by the sounding of instruments and taken to the palace for consecration. The consecration ceremony consisted of seating the future king on "a fine chair of fig-wood" or on "a heap of jewels," and sprinkling him from a conch with the spiral turned rightwise.

Kings are said to have abdicated, handing over the reins of government to the heir-apparent, or to an officer of the state (vi. 29). The abdication was due to a desire to see the son rule, or to old age (iv. 277); or it was because the king renounced the world, and became an ascetic. This last, no doubt, represents the pious aspiration of the Buddhist.

#### IV. THE KING AND "POPULAR WILL".

The king of the Jatakas is a despot; but in any state, however despotic the ruler, there is but "limited readiness" on the part of his subjects "to obey his behests".\* And "the despot has to reckon with public opinion. He knows well what interests he must conciliate, what classes he must not offend, what public wants he must satisfy . . . but public opinion has (no) organ by means of which it makes, supports, and destroys the government . . . . There could be only a chaotic outbreak of the government-making power, for which no organ has been provided".† It will be attempted below to show, that there was "limited readiness" on the part of the people "to obey the behests" of their ruler, who had to "reckon with public opinion", that there were "chaotic outbreaks of the government-making power".

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\* Dicey, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, p. 74.

† Seeley, *Introduction to Political Science*. Lecture VIII. (First Series.)

A king who became enamoured of a beautiful woman who was passing by with her husband in a cart, attempted, we are told, to put the man to death by accusing him of the theft of a jewel which had been placed in his cart by royal orders (ii. 122-3). Evidently he feared "public opinion", which was not slow to act, for we read that when the people heard of a king's ingratitude, they were "filled with indignation at the recital" and "the nobles and Brahmins and all classes with one accord cried out. 'This ungrateful king does not recognise even the goodness of this good man who saved his majesty's life. How can we have any profit from this king? Seize the tyrant!' And in their anger they rushed upon the king from every side, and slew him there and then, as he rode upon his elephant, with arrows and javelins and stones and clubs and any weapons that came to hand. The corpse they dragged by the heels to a ditch and flung it in" (i. 326). We are told of another king whose attempt to test the skill of a track-finder led to disaster. "The people thought, 'The king, though he ought to have protected others, threw the blame on another. After he had with his own hands placed his treasure in the tank, he went looking for the thief. That he may not in future go on playing the part of a thief, we will kill this wicked king.' So they rose up with sticks and clubs in their hands, and then and there beat the king and the priest till they died" (iii. 574). We also read of Ekaraja, king of Pupphavati, who was counselled to offer a sacrifice of his son and others to the gods, by Khandahala his family priest, who had a grudge against the son. Sakka intervened, when they were about to be slaughtered, and—

"The tyrant and his minister then set the guiltless victims free,

And all the crowd seized sticks and stones, and in a fit of frenzied glee.

Made Khandahala there and then pay forfeit for his cruelty" (vi. 155.)

"When they had killed the minister, the great crowd sought to put the king himself to death; but Sakka embraced him and would not allow them to kill him. The multitude decided that they would spare his life, (and said), 'but we will not give him rule or dwelling in this city—we will make him an out-caste and appoint his dwelling outside this city'. So they stripped him of his royal garments and made him wear a yellow dress, and put a yellow cloth on his head, and having made him an out-cast sent him away to an out-cast settlement" (vi. 156). Again, when the people of a country found that their king had developed cannibalish tastes, they insisted on having him expelled from the kingdom, and would not suffer him to say a word, and carried out his expulsion from the kingdom (v. 470). When he came back chastened and subdued, at first they did "not allow him to enter the city" but "hastily closed the city gates and stood by with arms in their hands" (v. 508). Eventually it was with great reluctance that they were prevailed upon to receive him back.

The Vessantara Jataka furnishes us with an excellent example of how people were roused under a sense of common danger, and their will prevailed with the king. There was a famine in Kalinga, and the king was told that Vessantara of Sivi had "a glorious elephant, all white", and, "wherever he went the rain fell," and asked to send Brahmins to beg it of Vessantara, who gave it away most willingly (487-8). Now, this was not well done in the sight of the Sivi folk. "The people of the

city, angry with the Bodhisat, uttered loud reproaches" (489). "The citizens trembling at heart for this gift, addressed themselves to the king", crying,

"The realm is ruined, Sire : why should Vessantara thy son  
Thus give away our elephant, revered by every one ?  
Why give our saviour elephant, pole-tusked, goodly, white,  
Which ever knew the vantage-ground to choose in every fight ?"

They would not have objected to a gift of "food and drink, with raiment", and warned the king—

"The bidding of the Sivi folk, if ye refuse to do,  
The people then will act, methinks, against your son and you"  
(490).

They did not want Vessantara to be put to death, but to be banished from the kingdom, "on Vamka's mount to dwell". The king promised to abide by "the people's will," but requested that his son might "bide one happy night" before he went away, and "they agreed to the king's proposal for just the one night". "Then he commissioned an agent, who accordingly went to Vessantara's house and told him what had befallen" (491). The queen went before the king and prayed him not to "banish him, the innocent, because the people cry". Hearing which, the king answered :

"Thy son, the people's banner, if I send to exile drear,  
My royal duty I obey, than life itself more dear" (499).

Vessantara then departed with his wife and two children for the Vamka hill, and on his way he passed through the land of the Ceti folk, who were moved by his story and offered to remonstrate with his father. But Vessantara told them that his father had "no power", and was "not king in this affair" (516).

There is some abruptness about his return. His children, whom he gave away to a Brahmin who asked for them,



were taken to the court of his father, who ~~re~~ deemed them. The children described the hardship their parents were undergoing, and the king "acknowledged his fault" in not resisting "the people's voice" (578-9). He set out for the Vamka hill, and brought Vessantara and his wife back. The "people" do not appear on the scene, and this only tends to confirm our belief that there had been only "a chaotic outbreak" under the stress of a supposed common danger.

A "public want", for the satisfaction of which "public opinion" put pressure on the king, was an heir to the throne. We read how, when the king had no issue, "all the townfolk gathered together in the palace courtyard, with upbraidings". Their complaint was that no son was born to him to perpetuate the race. They feared lest a stranger should "seize upon the kingdom and destroy it". They suggested various expedients, all of which the king faithfully resorted to.\*

Famines also made the "voice of the people" articulate. It was a belief of the times that "if a king be unrighteous, God sends rain out of season, and in season he sends no rain: and fear of famine, fear of pestilence, fear of the sword—these three fears come upon men for him" (ii. 124). Accordingly "people under the stress of famine

\* Prof. Rhys Davids calls Silavati, wife of one of these kings, "the discarded wife of a Kshatriya" (Rhys Davids, p. 59). Silavati was not "discarded." The people told the king, who had no issue, "The queen consort, Silavati, is a virtuous woman. Send her out into the streets. A son will be born to her;" to which "the king readily assented, and proclaimed by beat of drums that on the seventh day from that time the people were to assemble and the king would *expose* Silavati—giving the act a religious character. And on the seventh day he had the queen magnificently arrayed and carried down from the palace and exposed in the streets" (v. 279).



gathered themselves together in the palace yard and reproached the king", and asked him to "cause rain to fall." He was told that "former monarchs, . . . if it would not rain, used to give alms, to keep the holy day, to make vows of virtue, and to lie down seven days in their chamber on a grass pallet: then the rain would fall" (ii. 368). Other expedients were also suggested, and the king accepted the suggestions of his people.

### V. THE KING AND ADMINISTRATION

Though, as we shall shortly see, there were several important officials to carry on the administration of a country, the king himself took an active part in governing the kingdom, and exercised very effective control over all the departments. He was supreme head of the executive, and made and unmade appointments, but offices were, as a rule, hereditary. Though he appointed a minister or ministers to hear causes, he sat himself frequently in judgment. He was the leader of the host in war. The Commander-in-chief was evidently the administrative head of the army, and yielded the command to the king whenever a disturbance had to be quelled, or an attack to be made or repelled.

His prerogatives must be noticed:

- i. He could grant revenues of villages to ministers and others.
- ii. He was entitled to treasure-trove.
- iii. Heirless property escheated to the king.
- iv. He was entitled to "milk money", on the birth of an heir (iv. 323).
- v. He could order prisoners to be released on special occasions, such as the return from education or banishment, or marriage, of a prince, or the coming back of a favourite minister (vi. 327).

## C. THE ADMINISTRATION

### I. THE VILLAGE

Although, in addition to capital cities, there were a considerable number of market-towns, the bulk of the people lived in villages. The greatness of a kingdom is represented by the number of villages it included (iii. 365), from which alone we may conclude that the village formed the most important unit of administration.

The houses of the villagers lay together in a cluster in the midst of cultivated fields, and were protected by a wall or a palisade. Beyond the fields lay the waste and woodland, where the village cattle were grazed (i. 193-4), and people went to gather "firewood and leaves of trees" (v. 103).

The villagers, except when they were craftsmen\* were dependent on agriculture. A description of the crops and the agricultural methods will be reserved for a later section, but it must be pointed out here that the village of the Jatakas is of the raivatwari type, "that type . . . in which the separate holders, whatever spirit of union they may have possessed, never represented co-sharers in a unit estate or acknowledged any form of common ownership",† and there is no support for Prof.

✓ Rhys Davids' statement that "there was no such proprietary right, as against the community, as we are accustomed to in England . . . (nor) had any individual the right of bequest."‡

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\* "Men of certain special trades . . . . . the carpenters, smiths and potters, for instance, had villages of their own".— Rhys Davids, p. 20 ; i. 482, iii. 281, iv. 159, v. 337, vi. 71.

✓ † Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 6.

‡ Rhys Davids, pp. 46 and 47.

On the contrary, while there is not the slightest suggestion of community of ownership, not only does the language indicate individual ownership of land, but there is also at least one instance of a gift of land by a private individual.\*

The heads of the houses in the village assembled together, and transacted the business of the village. We read also that they busied themselves with keeping the paths clear of stones and other obstruction, and building tanks and resting-places for the convenience of travellers (i. 199).

There was a headman (ii. 134), who collected the king's revenue (i. 354), and had "small magisterial powers and various duties of police and protection" † He was entitled to the fines and other dues (i. 199). He acted sometimes as the representative of the people and went before the king to lay their grievances before him (iii. 10). He was probably appointed by the king (i. 354).‡

## II. REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

### (a) Sources of Revenue

i. *Land*. A share was claimed by the king in the annual produce of land, which was surveyed by the king's officers for the purpose. The tax was paid in kind, § and

\* "But the Great Being refused to accept the thousand acres which the Brahmin offered him, but took only eight acres. The Brahmin set up boundary stones, and made over this property to him" (iv, 281).

† Baden-Powell. *Op. cit.* p. 14.

‡ But Professor Rhys Davids thinks that, "from the fact that the appointment of this officer is not claimed for the king until the later law books, it is almost certain that in earlier times, the appointment was either hereditary or conferred by the village council itself." — Rhys Davids, p. 48.

§ "The Master of the Granaries. . . sat one day at the door of the granary, causing the rice of king's tax to be measured" (ii. 378).

the crop could not be gathered in before the king's portion was assessed (ii. 378).

ii. *Trade*. It is mentioned as "a source of revenue" (v. 243). Probably goods paid duties on entering (and on leaving) a town (vi. 347).\*

iii. *Fines*. The administration of justice brought in fines.†

iv. *Forests*. The produce of the forest was evidently a source of considerable income (iii. 15C).‡

v. *Prerogative rights*.—As we have seen already, the king was entitled to treasure-trove, heirless property, and milk money.

(*Mining* was perhaps a royal monopoly).§

vi. *Forced labour*.—The king owned lands, and herds of cattle, and flocks of goats (i. 240). It would appear that he sometimes compelled his subjects to work for him.¶

\* If Chanakya's system of taxation was not merely an aspiration, goods had to pay

i. A road-cess, levied on the number of loads.

ii. An ad valorem import and export duty, and

iii. A gate due. (II. ch. 21 and 22).

† "But even so when strife arises among men.

They seek an arbiter, he's leader then.

Their wealth decays, and the king's coffers gain" (iii, 336).

‡ Chanakya (II. ch. 17): "The Superintendent of forest-products shall collect timber and other products of forests by employing those who guard productive forests"; and he goes on to give an elaborate list of forest-products, to which the whole chapter is devoted.

§ Cp. Chanakya, II. ch. 12.

¶ The statement that the king owned lands is based on mere probability, and he must have possessed herds of cattle, as he is said to have given gifts of cows frequently. The following passage (given in the frame-work, and implied in the "Story of the Past") suggests the existence of forced labour. "For the kings' sake, shall the toiling folk, leaving their own work, sow grain, pulse, and keep watch and reap and thresh and garner; for the kings' sake shall they

**(b) Assessment and Administration**

There is no information as to the amount of taxes and the manner of assessment. When we read of the "revenue of a village" we are not to understand that there was a collective assessment, though there is one passage which would make the interpretation plausible (iii. 9). But as the ownership of land was individual, the tax must have been assessed on separate holdings.\*

The administration was controlled by an officer called the Lord High Treasurer, who was assisted by a Sub-Treasurer (v. 384). We read of him as a very wealthy man, and he was probably given the place for that very reason. He is represented as sitting at a counter or board (i. 369), where he received the taxes brought in by village headmen, and by collectors sent from the capital.

There are numerous passages, which show, without any doubt that exorbitant amounts were exacted, and that the people underwent great suffering.† It was not seldom

plant sugar-canes, make and drive sugar mills, and boil down the molasses; for the kings' sake shall they lay out flower gardens and orchards, and gather in the fruits. And as they gather in all the divers kinds of produce they shall fill the royal garners to overflowing, not giving so much as a glance at their own empty barns at home" (i. 339).

\* "Now after a time the king's officers came to that village, for taking a survey of the fields. Then the merchant came to the prince and said, 'My Lord, we support you; will you send a letter to your younger brother, and procure for us remission of taxes?' To this he agreed, and wrote as follows: 'I am living with the family of such a merchant; I pray you remit their taxes for my sake.' The king consented and so did. Thereupon all the villagers . . . came to him, and said, 'Get our taxes remitted, and we will pay taxes to you'" (iv. 169; also ii. 376).

† It is significant that tamed ogres are said to be made tax-gatherers (i. 275, ii. 17); see also iii. 317, 319; iv. 224, 399.

that a king crushed the folk, "as it were sugar-cane in a mill," with fines and taxes (ii. 240), sometimes people, unable to pay the oppressive tax," would "fly from village and town and the like, and take refuge on the borders of the realm" (i. 339). The following description is too realistic not to have been taken from life:—"His subjects, being oppressed by taxation, took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts. . . . Where once stood villages, there now were none, and the people through the fear of the king's men by day did not venture to dwell in their houses, but, fencing them about with thorn branches, as soon as the day broke, they disappeared into the forest (and returned at eventide when the king's men had departed). By day they were plundered by the king's men and by night by robbers." (v. 99-102).

(c) **Expenditure**

- i. There was no "Civil List", and the revenues were directly used to maintain the royal establishment.
- ii. The various departments in the State had to be maintained. Some of the State employees were paid in cash (iii. 505), though probably all the important officers were endowed with "revenue-villages."\*
- iii. Kings also spent considerable sums in charity.

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\* Cp. "Superintendents . . . (and a list of other officials follows) . . . shall be endowed with lands, which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage" (Chanakya, II. ch. 1). "The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned (sic) to them for their personal support" (Beal I. 88).

## III. POLICE AND PROTECTION

The headman of a village was its police officer, as we have seen, and nothing more remains to be said on this head.

A city was under the supervision of an official,\* called variously chief constable, governor, and Lord Protector, whose badge of office was a wreath of red flowers round the neck, and who was "king by night". His business was to guard the city, especially during the night, to run in thieves, and to carry out sentences of punishment.

On nightfall, the gates of the city were closed by the gate-keepers, who called out three times before doing so, and the city-guards patrolled the streets. We read how they were posted here and there in detachments to capture a notorious thief. Sometimes the king himself would go about the city in disguise.†

Forests were infested with robbers (i. 283), and "the people who lived at the entrance of the forest used to hire themselves out to guide men through it." They were a sort of "volunteer police",‡ though the expression "warders of the forest", and their relations with the king, might seem to give them an official air.

The border presented special problems of its own. Oriental monarchies have always manifested "despotism in the centre and weakness in the extremities" (Gibbon), and the kingdoms mentioned in the Jatakas form no exception. It was not every king that was able to say, nor was it always, that the frontiers were "as the central

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\* Chanakya differentiates between the city-constable (nayaka) and the officer in charge of the City (Paura) Chanakya I. 12.

† The sense of insecurity in old times is indicated by the fact that people used to sleep with a club "by their side for self defence" (ii. 410).

‡ Rhys Davids, p. 98. These people are called "*foresters*".



part, all populous and at peace" (vi. 23). The border was frequently in a state of disturbance; accordingly troops were stationed there. The disturbances were due sometimes to the attacks of the enemy (i. 263), or were revolts, probably engineered by the heir apparent, while not infrequently robbers from the mountains harried the villages, and plundered the villagers, in addition to carrying off prisoners to be sold as slaves.\*

#### IV. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

When the king did not himself sit in court, some one or more of the ministers heard the causes in the Hall of Judgment. Though there was an officer called "Lord Justice", and "Judges" and "Chief Judges" are mentioned, there was no specialisation of functions, and some of the officers were delegated to the work (v. 228). Sometimes it was the commander-in-chief (ii. 186), and elsewhere we read of the family priest as hearing causes, while the Treasurer in addition to his other duties exercised judicial powers over the guilds (iv. 43).

Among the causes that came before the royal court of justice were disputes about property or debt, or criminal actions for theft, abduction (ii. 182) and murder (ii. 302).

We have no sufficient details of the hearing of a suit. The complainant stated his case, and the accused made his statement in return (ii. 305), probably on oath; they

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\* In connection with this section may be mentioned a practice of some interest, which took the place of arresting in modern times: "Now this people have a custom, that they pick up a bit of stone or potsherd, and say—'Here is the king's officer; come along!' If any man refuses to go, he is punished" (ii. 301).



also produced witnesses to support their contention.\* We do not know for certain whether any payments had to be made to the court, apart from fines.† The court was attended by others than parties to a suit, and applause was not "suppressed".

There was no code of laws by which the judges were guided, but we come across "righteous judgment inscribed on a golden plate" (v. 125), and "a book of judgments," by observing which suits were to be settled (iii. 292). This may mean that a body of precedents had grown up. The probability is, however, that while skill in precedents was a desirable qualification for a judge (i. 337) in the main, he was guided by "equity and good conscience". This is confirmed by the frequent mention of the upsetting of a bad judgment of the minister appointed to the task by the commander-in-chief, the prince, the priest, or even an ascetic who happened to come upon the scene, and to whom the party who had lost his cause appealed for redress.

Damages could be claimed for injury done to one's cattle (ii. 136), while slander was punished with fine (i. 483); confiscation of property was not uncommon (iii. 105). It is impossible to connect offences and punishments; but the latter, most of which were harsh and cruel, may be enumerated: criminals were impaled alive (vi. 3), and were liable, even though the life was spared, to have the hands and feet, or nose and ears cut off, or the tongue torn out, or the eyes plucked out (iv. 193).

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\* "These are they who before a crowd of men.  
Suborned a witness and forswore a debt" (vi. 108).

† "But even so when strife arises among men,  
They seek an arbiter; he's leader then  
Their wealth decays, and the king's coffers gain" (iii. 336).

Thieves were hurled from a cliff down into a precipice (iv. 193). After this, imprisonment in fetters and chains (iii. 392) appears a very mild matter.

The sentence of death was carried out by a special official who "wore a yellow robe and a crimson wreath, and carried his axe upon his shoulder and a block and bowl in his hands". The victim had his arms tightly bound behind him, and a wreath of kanavara flowers was flung about his neck and brickdust sprinkled on his head, and he was scourged with whips in every square and led, to the music of the harsh sounding drum, to the place appointed for execution, and there beheaded.

## V. THE ARMY

It consisted of four divisions:

i. *Foot-Soldiers*. They were clad in mail coats, which afforded them considerable protection against arrows (iv, 296).

ii. *Cavalry*; both the rider and the animal were protected with armour.

iii. *Elephants*. They were clad in armour (ii. 22), and did great havoc in battles.\* In times of peace, they were richly decorated and used for processions.

iv. *Chariots*. They were gaily decorated with banners and tiger skins or panther hide, and were drawn by armoured horses (v. 259), and offered convenient mounts for warriors (i. 181).

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\* "The victory of kings depends mainly upon elephants; for elephants, being of large bodily frame, are capable not only to destroy the arrayed army of an enemy, his fortifications and encampments, but also to undertake works that are dangerous to life" (Chanakya II. ch. 2.)

The principal weapons were the sword, spear, bow, shield and axe. A "wheel" is mentioned as another weapon of destruction (iv. 82).

•An army included also strategists to concert plans, and carpenters and masons and others to assist in the assault of towns, and to throw up light fortifications (vi. 396).

The army had generals, probably heads of divisions, but, as a whole, it was under the control of the commander-in-chief, who, as has been pointed out, was only the administrative head.

## D. THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE JATAKAS

The geography of the Jatakas is almost entirely Indian. The only countries that are mentioned outside modern India are BABYLON (iii. 126), SUVUNNABHUMI (Pegu), famous as the name indicates for its gold, and KAMBOJA, noted for the excellence of its horses and the "savagery," of its men.

The kingdom which is most frequently mentioned next to Kasi is GANDHARA, in the north-west, with its capital Takkasila, the famous seat of learning.\* The kingdom of KASHMIR is twice associated with it, which is all the mention it gets. To the south lay the country of the MADDAS with its capital Sagala. It is said to have included the central parts of the Punjab.† In the neighbourhood was the land of the SIVIS. The capital was Aritthapura. Later on Jetuttara is mentioned as the capital (vi. 480). The Sivas are elsewhere said to be of the Kanthagana clan, who lived at Dvaravati‡ (vi. 421). They "inhabited a district between the Hydaspes and

\* The references to Takkasila are very numerous. There are about 90 in the first volume alone.

† Vincent Smith : *Ancient India*, p. 271.

‡ We do not know where this was. There were at least two more places with the same name :—

- i. There was a Dvaravati in the North-East, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Dvaravati is the classic name for the town and district of Sandowe, but in Burmese history it is also applied to Siam" (Beal ii. 200 and note 33.)
- ii. There was a sea-port with the same name (iv. 82).

the Indus," and were "one of the important branches of the race which originally peopled all the north-western region."\*

• In the central region dwelt the KURUS† and the PANCALAS. The former had their capital at Indapatta (or Indapattana). The Jatakas are very confused about the Pancalas, for Uttarapancala and Kampilla are both spoken of as the kingdom and the capital in different passages. The modern Rohilkhand represents the land of the Uttarapancalas.‡ "To the south of the Kurus, and west of the Jumna"§ was the country of the MACCHAS (vi. 280), who are only mentioned by name. Their country is famous as having been the abode of the five Pandus for a year.|| "Immediately south-west of the Macchas"\*\*\* was the land of SURASENAS (vi. 280), famous in the history of Krishna.††

\* McCrindle p. 366 ; also Beal I. C. vi. and 125.

† "The Northern KURUS" (v. 316) have nothing to do with the Kurus of Indapatta. They are said to have lived far away to the north, and may have been a real people, though there are passages which treat them as belonging to the domain of Mythology-Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. pp. 491-4.

‡ Beal. I. p. 200, note 104, quoting Lassen and Wilson. It is also mentioned here that Ahichchhatra was the capital of Uttarapancala. Cunningham (p. 360) also says, that according to Mahabharata, Ahichchhatra was the capital of Uttarapancala and Kampilla of Southern Pancala, while Rhys Davids (p. 27) makes the latter capital of Uttarapancala and Kanouj, of South Pancala !

§ and \*\* Rhys Davids, p. 27.

|| Cunningham is wrong in saying it was for 12 years (p. 340). 12 years were spent in the woods, and the thirteenth in disguise in the court of Virata, the Maccha King (Mahabharata : Aranyaparva and Virataparva).

†† Cunningham, p. 374. Upper Madhura (v. 79) is said to have been in the extreme north. (Rhys Davids, p. 37).

To the south of these, and reaching the west coast, lay the SOVIRA kingdom with its capital Roruva (iii. 470). It was at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, and was equivalent to southern Rajaputana.\* Roruva was "an important centre of the coasting trade. Caravans arrived there from all parts of India".† Adjoining were the kingdoms of SURATTHA, and BHARU (ii. 171) with its famous sea-port, Bharukaccha.

✓ In central India were the kingdom of DASANNA, famous for its swords, and the land of AVANTI,‡ with its capital Ujjeni (iv. 390). Avanti is mentioned once along with the Deccan (iii. 263), and again with the kingdom of Assaka (v. 317). From this, coupled with the fact that they are mentioned in the well-known list of sixteen kingdoms between the Surasenas and the Avantis, it is believed that at least one settlement of the ASSAKAS was situated to the north-west of Avanti.§ Potali is mentioned as the Assaka capital (iii. 3), and is believed to have been the centre of another settlement by the banks of the Godavari.¶ In the neighbourhood of the Godavari Assakas lived the KALINGAS, whose capital was at Dantapura. Two other southern peoples must be mentioned here, the Andhras (i. 356), and those who dwelt in the kingdom Damila, with its town Kavirapattana (iv. 238).

Immediately to the north of Avanti, and along the banks of the Jamna,\*\* was the land of the Vacchas, whose capital

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\* Cunningham, pp. 497-8.

† Rhys Davids, p. 38.

‡ "The Avantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vayu Purana, as being a branch of the Haihaya Muir, op. cit. p. 486, Note 3.

§ and ¶ Rhys Davids, p. 27.

\*\* Rhys Davids, 27.

was Kosambi. We read of king Udena and his drunken rage, and of his cruel son Bodhi.

We now come to the kingdoms of the East, which are mentioned so frequently in the stories. We read of KASI as an independent kingdom, frequently attacked among others by the ruler of the rival kingdom Kosala. By the time of the Buddha, however, Kosala had triumphed, and Kasi become its appanage, for we read that Kosala kings gave their daughters the revenues of the villages of Kasi as "bath and perfume money". The KOSALAS whose "rapid rise, and inevitable struggle in the immediate future with the Magadha was the leading point in the politics of the Buddha's time,"\* had their capital at Savatthi on the Aciravati. Saketa, another of their towns, is also mentioned, and once as capital (iii. 270), even as Ayojjha (iv. 82).† MAGADHA and ANGAs, which are sometimes mentioned together, had also been rivals (iv. 454), but by the time of the Buddha, Anga had become a subordinate kingdom of Magadha, and never regained independence‡ Campa (or Kalacampa) was its capital, while Rajagaha was the capital of Magadha.

The various clans that are mentioned in the stories, now remain to be enumerated. The SAKIYAS, "desperately proud in matters of birth" (iv. 146), had their capital at Kapilavatthu on the banks of the Rohini. Their country was probably "just on the border of Nepalese

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\* Rhys Davids, 25.

† Rhys Davids' conjecture that Ayojjha and Saketa "were possibly adjoining, like London and Westminster" (p. 39) is a convenient compromise between the positions that Saketa, "is the same as Ayodha" (Cunningham p. 405), and that it is "a town in South Oudh, but not identical with Ayodhya, as it is often asserted to be" (Smith, p. 204).

‡ Rhys Davids, p. 25.



and English territory".\* The Koliyas lived on the opposite bank of the Rohini, and were "a sort of subordinate division of the Sakiya clan".† "On the mountain slope to the east of the Sakiya land"‡ was the territory of the MALLAS,§ who were a clan of professional wrestlers. Their capital was Kusinara, known in earlier times as Kusavati. By the Buddha's time, it had declined in importance, and become a "rough little town in the jungle", a "little suburban town", whereas it had been, in earlier days, "a mighty city encompassed by jewelled walls twelve leagues round" (i. 391). The Vajji people (vi. 238), who lived to the south of the Mallas,|| "were in all probability Skythian invaders, whose power had reached so far as the borders of the Ganges at Patna, but had there been checked by Ajatasatru. They had afterwards been driven north-east to the mountains bordering on Nepal".\*\* They included "eight confederate clans, of whom the Licchavis and the Videhans were the most important".†† The former lived at Vesali, while the Videhans had their capital at Mithila. Another northern people were the CETIS. Their capital was Sotthivati (iii. 454). They are said to have had two distinct settlements, "one, probably the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal. The other, probably a later colony, was near Kosambi to the east."§§ The

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 17.

† " " p. 18.

‡ " " p. 26.

§ "The kingdom of MALA" and "MALATA" (iv. 327, 331), probably also refer to the land of the Mallas, which is ruled by a king in the "stories of the past".

|| Rhys Davids, p. 26.

\*\* Beal I. xvi.

†† Rhys Davids, p. 26.

§§ Rhys Davids, p. 26. See Note B.



BHAGGAS, who dwelt near Sumsumaragiri, complete the list (iii. 157).

Some other countries and peoples are mentioned, whose identification has not been possible: The KEKAKAS, whose lord, "Ajjuna of the thousand arms who sinned against Angirasa," bears a strong resemblance to "Arjuna, son of Kritavirya, and king of the Hailhaya," who had a thousand arms, and sinned against Jamadagni;\* KAMSA district, with its capital Asitanjana (iv. 79); MEJJHA, whither Brahmins, excommunicated in Benares, went (iv. 387), and which was "wiped out from among the Kingdoms" by "a torrent of hot ashes"; SERI, only mentioned (i. 111); The REALM OF KING DANDAKI, with its capital Kumbhavati (v. 134), to which the kingdoms of Kalinga, ATTHAKA, BHIMARATTHA were subordinate (v. 135); EKABALA, with its King Sankhapala (vi. 390); MAHIMSAKA, whose capital was Sakula (v. 337);† the Kingdom of AMBATTHA (iii. 413).‡

#### NOTE A.—DIMENSIONS OF INDIAN CITIES AND COUNTRIES

The Jatakas give us often the dimensions of cities and countries, and distances between places, in terms of "yojanas" (rendered "leagues"). Professor Rhys Davids, accepting the statements in good faith, takes them to denote circuits in the case of cities and countries. Dr. Fleet points out that this would lead to ridiculous results,

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\* The Kekakas are mentioned along with Macchas, Surasenas, Pancalas, and Kurus (213, 280).

Mahismati, the capital of the Hailhayas, was on the banks of the Nerbudda (*Muir*, op. cit. pp. 449, 452, 458, and 478).

† This Kingdom was probably "in the far east" (R. Davids, p. 38).

‡ Ambashtas are mentioned in Vishnu Purana as one of the tribes inhabiting Bharata Varsha. (*Muir*, op. cit. 495).

whether we calculate 7.5 or 4.54 miles to the yojana, and is of opinion that "by understanding the statements regarding territories as denoting areas, we can obtain satisfactory results", while, with regard to cities, the statements, whether treated as meaning circuits or areas, "are gross exaggerations, if not absolutely imaginary."\* It is surprising that neither of these scholars has noticed the highly suspicious circumstance that all the kingdoms, whose dimensions are given, are three hundred leagues in extent.† Similarly Benares and Kusavati are both said to cover twelve leagues, and Mithila and Indapatta, seven leagues. The partiality of the Jatakas for round numbers is noticeable elsewhere also. It is always five hundred merchants that set out on a journey, and with five hundred carts.

The distances are equally imaginary. From Benares to Takkasila, the journey is said to be two thousand leagues, which is nowhere near reality, unless the road was "a maze trod indeed, thro' forth-rights and meanders." Other distances are also given :—

Indapatta to Takkasila	... 120 leagues (v. 476)
Mithila to Kampilla	... 100 leagues (vi. 447)
Kusinara to Sagala	... 100 leagues (v. 290)
Rajagha to Savatthi	... 45 leagues (i. 348)
Savatthi to Sankassa	... 30 leagues (iv. 265)
Mithila to Campa	... 60 leagues (vi. 32)

#### Note B.—INCONGRUITIES.

Attention may be called to the following, which have not been noticed or explained by the translators :

\* J. R. A. S. 1907. "Dimensions of Indian cities and countries" by J. F. Fleet, pp. 641-56.

† Kasi, Bharu, Videha, and Kuru Kingdoms (ii. 3.172, 365, iii. 365, iv. 316, v. 484), while Magadha is also given the same dimensions elsewhere. (R. Davids, p. 24).

“ In the kingdom of KURU and the city of UTTARA-PANCALA, a king reigned whose name was Renu ” (iv. 444).

“ There was a king Assaka reigning in POTALI, which is A CITY OF THE KINGDOM OF KASI ” (ii. 155).

“ He went to pleasant Rajagaha, the far-off city of Anga ” (vi. 271). The King of BENARES is addressed as “ Royal Magadha ” (iii. 339) and elsewhere we come across the expression “ VEDEHA, KASI'S glorious King ” (iv. 94).

There is also some difficulty with regard to the location of the land of the Ceti people. Rhys Davids, relying among others upon the references in vi. 514, 518 (not v. 514, 518, as the foot-note on p. 26 of his book says), states that they lived in the Himalayan regions “ in what is now called Nepal ”. But these very references tell us that Vessantara passed through the Ceta land on his way from the Sivi Kingdom to the Vanka hill. The Sivi kingdom was near the Indus, as has been pointed out, while the place of Vessantara's banishment was in the mountains on the Afghan frontier!\*

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\* Beal, I. 112.

## E. RELATIONS BETWEEN KINGS

The relations between the kings of the numerous countries the Jatakas mention were, no doubt, normally peaceful, and we read of them as sending each other presents. In their desire to cement their friendship, some of them formed marriage alliances, which did not always produce the desired result (ii. 237). There was no system of embassies, but ambassadors were sent from king to king, and they had free access to the sovereign to whom they were sent\* and their person was inviolate.† More frequently spies were sent suborned to lead a king into a trap (i. 262), or to find out why a king "was collecting and assembling an army" (vi. 390); or they were provided with gifts and sent to the courts of various kings "to live there in their service, listen to their actions and plans" and send word home. They "went this way and that, and gave these gifts to the kings, saying that they were come to live in their service. When asked whence they came, they told the names of other places than those from which they had really come. Their offer accepted, they remained there in attendance, and made themselves trusted" (vi. 390). All this points to war, which is the relation between kings about which we have most information, and to war we shall accordingly turn.

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\* "At that time, and in that nation, if a man called out 'Messenger,' no one would stay him; and so it was that the multitude divided and gave him way to pass" (ii. 319).

† "The ambassador's inviolate, and no man may him kill: This is a very ancient rule". . . (vi. 528).

It was not necessary that a king should have any ostensible cause for hostilities against another. As a rule, it was sheer lust of conquest, and convenient opportunity to gratify it that gave rise to the wars which are mentioned in the stories. We read how kings set out on a career of conquest (iv. 82), stirred by the ambitious schemes of a priest. The following instance is typical: "Now Kalinga had a fine army and was himself as strong as an elephant, but could find no one to fight with him. So, being eager for a fray, he said to his ministers: 'I am longing to fight, but can find no one to war with me.'" The minister suggested he should send his "four daughters, of surpassing beauty", to "every village, town and royal city with an armed escort". If any king desire to take them into his harem, a fight could be got up with him. The king followed their advice (iii. 3).

International courtesy was conspicuous by its absence. The helplessness of a kingdom was the opportunity of its neighbour. The king of Benares died; "the next neighbour, the king of Kosala, heard of the king's death. 'Surely the land is at my mercy', thought he; and marched with a mighty host to the city and beleaguered it." (ii. 21). The usual thing was to appear suddenly before the capital of a king, and ask him to surrender or give battle.

"War", we are told (ii. 406), "is of three kinds—the lotus army, the wheel army, and the waggon army." The reference is to the manner in which an army was to be arranged for battle. An army was said to be arranged lotus-wise, when it was "equally extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the king" or "by women and children." The waggon

formation was a "wedge-shaped phalanx", which was used to inveigle the enemy into a dangerous position. Garrisons were to be posted on hills, and the fighting contingent was to pretend flight and draw the enemy between the garrisons on the hills, who would rush out with a shout and a leap and bar their passage in front and in the rear, and they would have them "like a fish in a lobster-pot". The "wheel" formation was useful in preventing the escape of the enemy from its midst, once lured there, and was responsible for the death of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, in the wars of the Mahabharata.

Very interesting details are given of a siege in Jataka No. 546. When there was reason to anticipate a siege, "all the poor people who lived in the city" (*i.e.*, in the citadel) were "removed outside", and "the rich families of the powerful" were "brought from all the kingdom, the country side, and the suburb villages and settled within" and "great quantities of corn" gathered (395). Spies sent news of the march of the enemy from day to day. The enemy arrived, and proceeded to surround the city "with fences of elephants and chariots, and of horses, and at regular intervals placed a mass of soldiers" (396). They commenced "digging about it on all sides" (397), determined to "fill up the trenches, brake (*sic*) the walls, raze the gate towers (and) enter the city". And "the mighty warriors, armed with all manner of weapons, marched up to the gate", but the defenders poured on them "red hot missiles, showers of mud, and stones" (400). "When they were in the ditch attempting to destroy the wall, the men in the gate-towers dealt havoc with arrows, javelins, and spears" (400). The attacking party was thus baffled, and returned quite unsuccessful; and they tried to force the city to surrender by cutting off the supply of water,

food, and wood (401-2). This was sometimes very effective, for, once<sup>3</sup> when a city was thus closely blockaded for seven days, "the citizens, on the seventh day, cut off the king's head and brought it to the enemy." The besieged were not always content to be on the defensive. They sometimes sallied forth and tried to drive the enemy away, not infrequently with success.\*

There was some accepted usage with regard to booty. The goods of the vanquished king belonged to his successful rival, while what belonged to the priest were the share of the priest of the victorious king, and the rest was taken by the ranks (vi. 409). The prisoners were slain or set free at the good pleasure of the captain (v. 311). They might be required, before the conqueror released them, to take an oath "never to war against him any more" (i. 180). It is not improbable that prisoners were treated very barbarously. The consort of the slain king was taken into the harem of the victor. That there was some sort of feudatory relation between conqueror and his foe whom he set at liberty is evident, but anything more cannot be known.

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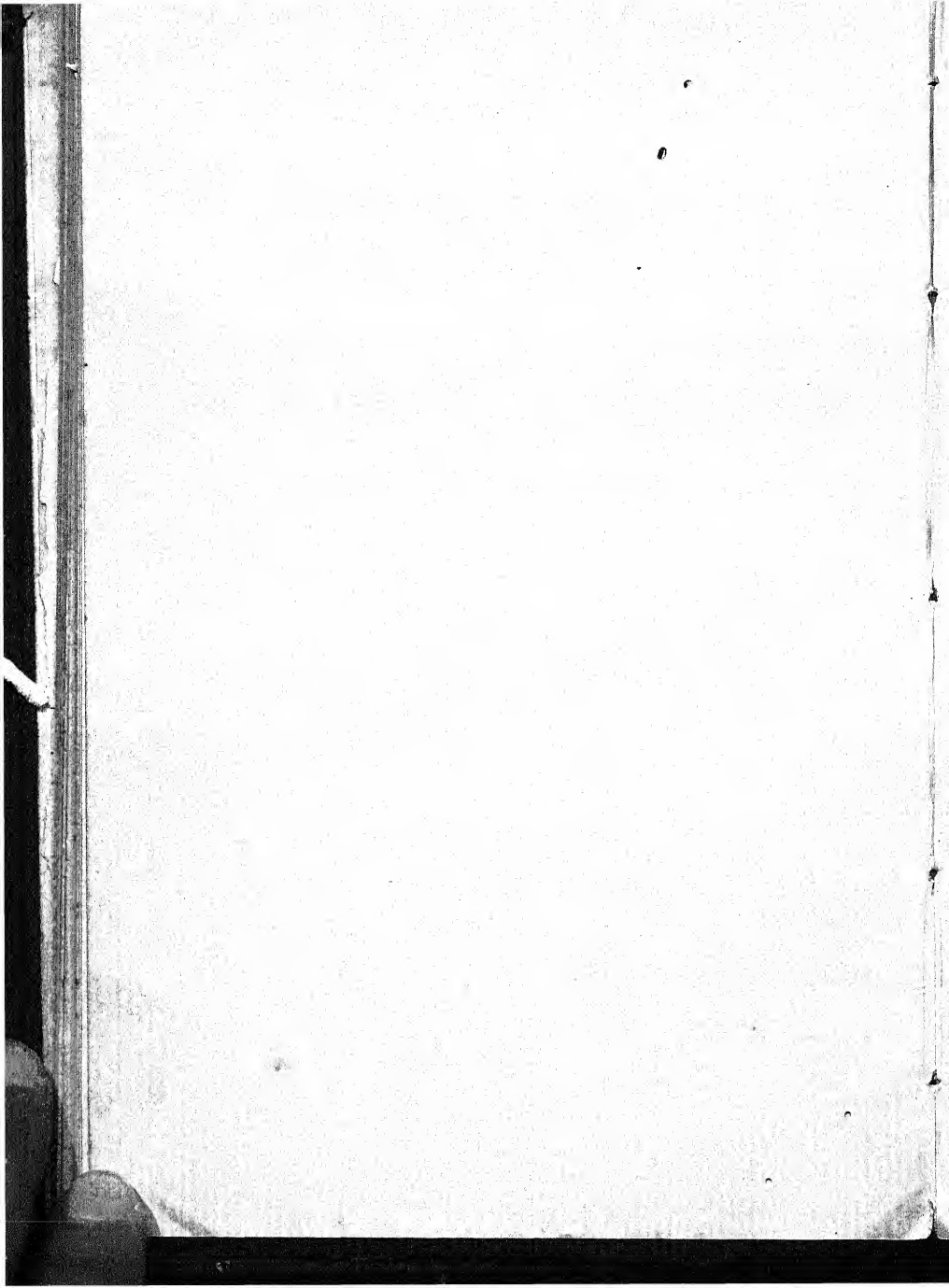
\* There is a mention of a "Battle of the Law," by which the superiority of one king over another was decided:—

(The priest of the besieging army speaks): "Sire, no army shall fight. The two sages of the two kings shall appear in one place, and of these whichever shall salute the other shall be conquered. Mahosadha does not know this idea. I am older and he is younger, and when he sees me he will salute me. Thus we shall conquer Videha, and this done we will return home. So we shall not be disgraced. This is what is meant by a Battle of the Law" (vi. 403).



### III. TOWNS





## TOWNS

Towns have been in the East, as in the West, centres of political and economic life. While the Jatakas give ample evidence that they were a pronounced feature of the time,\* the only information to be obtained relates to capital cities. The following observations will, therefore, apply only to these.

A city consisted of a fortified portion in the midst of a number of suburbs, which served as centres of trade, or as residences for the poor and out-cast and the Candala. The fortifications consisted of a wall (or walls), protected by a series of moats, which were of 3 sorts—the mud-moat, the water-moat, and the dry-moat. The slopes of the dry-moats were covered with thornbrakes. There were huge gates leading into the fortifications, often arched and surmounted with watch-towers. Within the citadel,† there was the palace in the centre (iii. 9), with its adjuncts like the royal kitchens and the stables. The streets ran at right angles, and there were squares where people assembled to see a criminal punished or to hear the royal proclamations. The different classes and trades had their special quarters. Houses opened directly into the street, though houses with a surrounding wall were not unknown (v. 213); houses “standing in a position abutting on two streets” were greatly prized (v. 350). Narrow lanes ran between the houses in the rear (vi. 276-7).

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\* “Villages, towns, or capital cities” (i. 328)”; every village, town, and royal city ” (iii. 3): “town folk” and “country folk” are always mentioned together (i. 149, ii. 181, iv. 261, v. 244, vi. 59).

† Or, “royal precincts”, or “the portion of the city in which the palace stood” (Beal ii. 2, note 2).

A river close by, or a tank within or without the walls, supplied the city with water, which was supplied to cisterns near houses by means of conduits (vi. 390), or fetched home in pots. Artesian wells were probably used, but though they are mentioned (ii. 70),\* it is not in a town. People used to bathe in rivers and tanks, and landing-places and bathing-ghats were built for their convenience.

There is little information about sanitary arrangements. There were sewers, which opened outside the walls. Rubbish was heaped outside by each house, and was collected and thrown outside the city in a ditch, perhaps to be carried away for agricultural purposes. Away from the town was the charnel-grove, where dead bodies were burnt in the case of "persons of distinction, either by birth or wealth or official position, or as public teachers,"† and exposed in the case of others. It was used to carry out sentences of death (iv. 29), and was infested with dogs (i. 175,) and jackals (i. 489), which fed on the bodies. Ascetics are also said to have used it as a place of abode.

*Buildings.* The superstructure of houses was of wood (ii. 18) with the exception of walls, which were built of brick, and plastered with chunam, or whitewashed. The poor, however, filled in a framework of bamboo with mud, and plastered the wall with clay or cow dung.

Very little information is obtainable about the style of building; we are told of a verandah (iii. 283), and an 'ornamented portico' is also mentioned (vi. 131). A gabled chamber was evidently highly esteemed, since apartments of goddesses and kings are all gabled. Houses

\* "There shall be a water-well for every ten houses" (Chanakya. 11, 4.)

† Rhys Davids, p. 78; dead bodies are mentioned as being burnt (i. 484, iii. 382, v. 505) but not in a charnel-grove.

were built with a courtyard, round which were the chambers (ii. 136). Each house had a store-room (ii. 168), a cow-pen (ii. 300) and a granary, which was entered from another room, through a door high up in the wall (ii. 135). Firewood was stored in sheds behind the houses (vi. 402). Above the chambers "was a flat-roof, called the upari-pasada-tala, the upper flat surface of the house, where the owner sat usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room and office, and a dining-hall".\*

There were at least two doors, one being the main entrance, and the other, "a back door", a sort of secret exit. The doors were sometimes panelled and painted, and were made fast with bolts worked with a peculiar arrangement of pulling cords and a fixing pin.†

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 68, and iii. 301.

† 'Locks' are also mentioned (i. 290, vi. 373).

#### IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS



## A. PRELIMINARY\*

Wealth consisted in silver and gold and household gear, horses, oxen, fields and stores of grain, i.e., it consisted mostly of agricultural and commercial capital, and what industrial capital there was, was in the form of tools and implements of the craftsmen. The organisation of industry was based on private property of land and other means of production, alongside of which there existed the corollary right of bequest and the cognate one of inheritance.†

People used to "live by merchandise, by herds, or by the plough," and elsewhere usury is added to the list (iv. 422).

As will appear in the following pages, there was considerable differentiation of occupations, and most of them had come to be hereditary. This necessitated facilities for exchange, and though we hear of a girl working for a garment, and a dog being bought for a piece of money and a cloth, money economy had come into existence.

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\* The scientific interest of a very early enunciation of the principle by which the margin is pushed lower in response to increased demand may excuse the following irrelevant quotation:—

"A wild and savage cow that we had never milked before  
We milked to-day: demand for milk grows ever more and more"  
(v. 105).

† Another instance of bequest is the following: "So he married him to his own grown-up daughter and settled all the family estates on the young man" (i, 122).

## B. MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

*By Land.*—The references to “roads” are very numerous, but it is difficult to make out what sort of roads are meant. Probably the opinion that they were mere tracks kept open by peasants is correct,\* though expressions like “royal-road” and “highway”, as contrasted with “by-lanes”, might suggest a different idea. These paths lay through forests and deserts, and were attended with danger and difficulties. Sometimes wild beasts frequented the path; or travellers suffered from want of water; wells were dug by the wayside (ii. 70), but water was sometimes carried by the travellers themselves. Then there were the highwaymen, who, armed “with shield on shoulders, sword in hand, took the road to kill and rob” (iv. 185). Merchants hired people who lived in villages at the entrance to a forest to guide them safely through it. Deserts were crossed with the aid of a desert pilot, who sat in “the front cart upon a couch, looking up to the stars in the heavens, and directing the course thereby” (i. 108).

There were two kinds of vehicles, the aristocratic pleasure-car, and the commercial cart (iv. 458). The cart was drawn by oxen, and the broad rims of its wheels were protected by iron bands (iv. 210). Cars were of a richer style, as was natural since they were used by kings and nobles. They were drawn by horses, and a driver managed the reins and guided the horses (ii. 374). The cars were made of wood “deftly framed” (v. 194), and were painted. Probably there is

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 98.



no exaggeration, when we are told of a royal car being adorned with ivory and silver (vi. 223) and inlaid with gold (vi. 580). A pole was a distinctive mark of a car (vi. 508) from which a banner was flung to the breeze.\*†

Litters were used by royalty and the wealthy, as were also horses and elephants.

*By Water.*—No bridges are mentioned; rivers were crossed with a boat,‡ and people made a living by conveying people and goods across rivers.

Sea-navigation was common, and voyages were undertaken for the purpose of trade.§ Ships were built of wooden planks, and were dependent on wind.|| They were provided with anchors (ii. 112), and were probably sometimes rowed (iv. 21): There was a pilot on board, who had charge of the rudder and guided the ship.

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\* Under the guise of a metaphor, the various parts of a car are described in vi. 261.

† Cars could be hired. "He hired . . . a well-appointed carriage, which plied for hire by the hour" (i. 121).

‡ "Canoes" are also mentioned (iv. 456, v. 163, vi. 305).

§ It would appear that passengers, too, were taken (iii. 188).

|| Ships are mentioned as having three masts (ii. 112, iv. 21).

## C. AGRICULTURE AND OTHER EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE.—It was, as we have seen, one of the three (or four) main occupations of the people. Land was to be had for the mere trouble of cleaning the wild growth, and was being gradually brought under cultivation.

*Field Crops.*—Rice was the chief article of food, and was accordingly grown on a large scale. Among the other crops were barley, pulse, peas, and beans. Sugar was often eaten with rice; and sugar-cane must have been a common crop, and sugar-making a well-known process. Oil-seeds were probably another important field-crop. Rice or meat was often eaten with sauce or curry, but of the ingredients, only mustard is mentioned as being grown (iii. 125). Cotton was another large field crop.

*Cultivation.*—No doubt the average holding was of a comparatively small size, for which the labour of the farmer and his family sufficed; and the nature of agricultural implements would hardly permit farming on a large scale. But large farms, of "1,000 karisas" or more, were not unknown, and were cultivated by their owners with the aid of hired labour.

The ploughing was done with ploughs drawn by a pair of oxen; after ploughing, the clods were broken (iv. 414), and the soil turned with a spade (v. 68). Water was obtained from rivers or tanks. Sometimes a dam was thrown across a river, and a supply of water obtained (v. 412). The water was taken round through conduits, "the green grass clothing it about" (iv. 358), and the fields

were irrigated by men going "with spade and basket in hand ... to bank up the dykes" (i. 336), and building "little embanked squares for water" (iv. 167).

The seed was sown, and, when the crops began to grow, not only had the cattle of the village to be sent to the forest (i. 388), but precautions had also to be taken against the depredations of deer,\* parrots, and paddy-birds. Deer were kept off by means of fences, and the peasants also used to "dig pit-falls, fix stakes, set stone-traps, and plant snares and other gins, so that many deer were slain". Fences did not avail against birds, and watchers were employed, who lived on the field day and night in a hut. Their watchfulness was, it would appear, ensured by making them responsible for any loss.†

Then there was weeding (i. 215), and when the crops were ripe, they were cut, and the corn was threshed on a prepared floor, and taken to the granary.

*Vegetable, and fruit, and flower-gardening.* In addition to areca-nut and tamarind (vi. 38), which lie intermediate, there are mentioned a number of fruits, mangoes, plantains, breadfruit (v. 37), and mango groves were evidently a common feature. Flowers were grown and used in sufficiently large quantities to give rise to the specialised occupations of the florist and the garland-

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\* The presence of deer meant another source of loss to the peasants: "every-day he (king) mustered the whole of his subjects, townfolk and country-folk alike, to the detriment of their business, and went hunting" deer (i. 149; also iii. 270).

† "Next day the parrots ate the rice again, and so afterwards. The man began to think, 'if these creatures go on eating for another few days, there will not be a bit left. The Brahmin will have a price put on the rice, and fine me in the sum' . . . . . he went to see the Brahmin . . . The farm watchman was much pleased that no price had been put upon the rice, and no debt spoken of" (iv. 278).

maker. Fruit and flower culture must have been highly advanced, for forcing flowers and fruit out of season was known (ii. 105). Vegetables, such as pot-herbs, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers, were grown, and there were greengrocers who specialised in them and bought from growers to sell to consumers.

An industry allied to agriculture is BREEDING AND REARING LIVE STOCK. Cattle were a high esteemed form of wealth, and living by herds was one of the main occupations. There was no breeding for the butcher's knife,\* but only for the plough. Cows were also useful, as they supplied milk and butter, which were largely consumed. The cattle were grazed in the pasture adjoining a village, or taken to the forest by a neatherd and grazed there during the day, and kept in a shieling at night.

Flocks of *goats* were also usual, and even kings are said to have possessed them.

*Horses* were bred for quality, and there was considerable traffic in them; Sindh and Kambhoja were famous for the quality of their breed.

Kings were fond of hunting with *dogs*; this led to the breeding of a good strain.†

GRASS-CUTTING was a quasi-agricultural industry, which was of some importance.

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\* Pigs were perhaps an exception (ii. 419).

† Cp : "The country of the king Sopithes possesses a noble breed of dogs, used for hunting, and said to refrain from barking, when they sight their game, which is chiefly the lion" (McCrimdale 220); "Among the many valuable presents which he bestowed on Alexander were 150 dogs, remarkable for their size and strength, and superior also in other respects and said to have been bred from tigresses" (Ibid, 280).

HONEY was eaten with rice, as we read frequently, but there is no suggestion of bee-farming. It was probably obtained in the forests from the wild bee-hives.\*

MINING must have been undertaken extensively. Metals like iron and copper could hardly have been imported. Though India has been from very remote times the 'sink' for the superfluous precious metals of Europe, to borrow Jevons' expression, she must have produced large quantities of gold and silver herself, but the only reference to mining is in a simile.†

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\* "A certain yakkha . . . . . wandered all about the road pretending to tap the trees as if he were looking for honey" (iii. 200).

† "And the brick mound, search as you may, contains  
No veins of iron for the miner's pain" (vi. 212).

## D. HUNTING AND FISHING

*Hunters.* Venison was esteemed very highly and kings are said to have gone a hunting merely to experience the delicious pleasure of eating venison "broiled on charcoal" (iv. 437). Hunters laid a snare of "twisted cord of leather thongs set with a pole" (iv. 414) "in the deer drives" (iii. 184). They "knew the time for the deer to come down from the hills" and would post themselves "in ambush by the road" (i. 154). Some of them used "to build a platform on trees at the foot of which" they "found the track of deer, and to watch aloft for their coming to eat the fruits of the trees"; and "when the deer came", they "brought them down with a javelin and sold the flesh for a living" (i. 173).

Iguanas were also sought after; iguana-trappers went into the forest "with spade and dogs to dig out iguanas" (i. 488).

Ivory was the raw material of an important industry; some quantity was obtained from dead elephants found in forests (and in royal cities), but enterprising hunters attacked and killed elephants in the forest for the sake of their tusks.

*Fowlers.* Birds were caught to be sold for pets, or, as was more usually the case, for consumption. Bird-catching was a common occupation, and fowlers were sometimes numerous enough to have a village all to themselves (v. 337). They caught birds with snares and traps; or used a decoy-bird or imitated the note of a bird to gather its kind together, when they flung a net

over them, and "whipped the sides of the net together, so as to get them all huddled up in a heap." Then they crammed them into their basket, and going home sold their prey for a living (i. 208), sometimes fattening them before sale (i. 434). Among the birds sought after were parrots and peacocks (for pets), quails, partridges, and ospreys (iv. 392).

*Fishermen.* The net and the line were both used to catch fish, and basket traps were sometimes set in pits and holes of rivers (i. 427). It would appear that there was a differentiation between line and net fishing, which was sufficiently important for fishermen in a village to be described as line-fishermen (i. 482).

## E. OTHER OCCUPATIONS

### I. PRECIOUS METALS AND JEWELRY

The Indian people were as fond of ornaments then as they are now, so that goldsmiths had a flourishing trade. It is significant that "shops of goldsmiths' ware" are warned against in the same breath with gossip, drink, and lewd company (iv. 223). Among the ornaments made and worn were bracelets, rings, necklaces, waistbands, anklets, hair-pins, frontlet pieces, zones, crests for the turban. The trade in ornaments was extensive enough to permit of specialisation in particular kinds; for example, we read of a man who made "ornaments for the head" (ii. 191). Ornaments were made not only for men, but also for animals, for kings were fond of adorning their elephants and horses with finery, such as gold trappings, girths, and network of gold.

Rich people and kings used gold vessels for eating and drinking, though not so extensively, perhaps, as the stories suggest.

The art of in-laying was known. Chains and bedsteads used by kings were inlaid with gold, as were the royal cars. The description of a celestial car would make the inference tenable that relief work was also practised\* (v. 408).

Another feature of the gold industry, which is highly interesting, was the preparation of mirrors by giving a

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\* "Peacocks in gold depicted were in numbers not a few,  
Horses and cows and elephants, tigers and panther too,  
Here antelopes and deer are seen as if prepared for flight,  
Here wrought in precious stones are jays and other birds in  
flight".



fine polish to the surface of the metal. Gold plates are also said to have been used for the inscription of messages or sayings of importance.

Gold ornaments were set with gems, the art of cutting and polishing which was known.

It is noticeable that silver is rarely mentioned in the stories, which may be due to a desire to convey exaggerated notions of wealth. It was certainly not because the metal was less common, for silver caskets were made for trinkets (i. 156) of gold, evidently, while silver dishes were also used (vi. 510) for eating. The image of a silver plate is often employed to express brightness.

## II. OTHER METALS

Workers in metals supplied agriculture with plough-shares and spades, and similar implements; and sugar mills, which have been already mentioned, were probably made of iron. Households required pots and pans and bowls. These are said to have been of copper and brass and bronze, so that amalgamation of metals was known and practised. Iron was converted into steel (vi. 449) and made into tools of various crafts, such as razors, saws, hammers, axes, and chisels; and coats of mail, and weapons of war were required for the army. Some delicate work was done in the shape of fine needles (iii. 282), and strings for musical instruments (ii. 249).

## III. TEXTILES

India has always been noted for its silks. We find that in the stories, Benares had already acquired a fame for the special excellence of its wares; and Gandhara and Sivi are also mentioned as producing silk cloth of great value. Probably silk cloth was embroidered with gold.

Kings wore turban-cloths of gold (v. 322) and cloths of gold were prepared for state elephants (iv. 404). While silk was the portion of royalty and wealth, the garments of the bulk of the people were made of cotton. The renderings into "woollen garments" are doubtful, but woollen robes and rugs and blankets are mentioned elsewhere. Ascetics are said to have worn "robes of bark". They were probably made, as they are now, from the fibres of aloe.

Dyeing is said to have been a separate occupation,\* but there is no information in the stories on the point. Garments, rugs, and curtains are mentioned as dyed scarlet, orange, and yellow, among others, of which scarlet seems to have been the favourite colour. Nowhere are we told of dyers, or of dyeing as a separate occupation. People sometimes dyed their own cloths, and vegetable colours were used.

#### IV. BUILDING INDUSTRIES

(a) *Stonework.* Workers in stone were probably employed to lay the foundations of buildings, and to build bathing-ghats and flights of steps to rivers and tanks. They also made crystal bowls and goblets.

(b) *Woodwork.* The superstructure of most houses was of wood, and carpenters "would shape beams and planks for house-building, and put together the framework of one-storey or two-storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the mainpost onwards", and "they would build houses to order as it was required of them" (ii. 18). They also made furniture for houses, such as bedsteads and chairs (iv. 159). Carts, chariots, and ships were also built by them.

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 93.

(c) *Painting*. Painters are said to have been "mostly house painters".\* They not only painted the outer walls of palaces and houses of nobles (v. 213), but also decorated the inside (iii. 342). They worked on the cement covering the wooden framework (vi. 432) and produced beautiful frescoes (vi. 333).

#### V. LEATHER INDUSTRY

Workers in leather (v. 45) made shoes, "shields of a hundred layers", sacks, and leather traps. They also supplied royalty with shoes "richly inwrought with varied thread".

#### VI. POTTERY.

Potters made bowls and vessels used even in palaces, and some carried their craft to a high pitch of skill, for we hear of figured pottery (v. 291).

#### VII. IVORY WORK.

There were special quarters in a city, where ivory workers lived and worked ivory into "diverse form and shapes", "bangles and all manner of trinkets", and handles for mirrors (v. 302).

#### VIII. BASKET WEAVING.

Rush-workers often went and worked in the forest, where they found their raw material (ii. 302), bamboo among others (iv. 251). With this branch of industry were also associated rope-making, and mat-weaving. Palm-leaf fans and leaf sunshades were other products of the same industry (iii. 79, v. 291).

#### IX. OIL-MAKING.

Oils were consumed largely. But the oils prepared were not only those used in the kitchen, but also those of a higher quality like sandalwood and other scented oils.

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 96.

**X. BREWING INDUSTRY**

It is remarkable that Prof. Rhys Davids does not mention this at all, when the Jatakas leave no room for any doubt with regard to the fact that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale. Liquor was extracted from rice (v. 12), Soma (v. 457) and sugar-cane (iv. 161) and was sold in shops (vi. 328).

**XI. PERFUMERY**

Perfumes were manufactured, and sold in shops (iv. 82, vi. 336).

**XII. FLOWERS**

Flowers were grown, gathered and brought to garland-makers, who made garlands and bouquets with them.

**XIII. PASTRY AND FOOD**

Cooks had their own quarters in a city, where they prepared and sold food; they are said to have formed a numerous class.

**XIV. TAILORING**

Is mentioned but once (iv. 24).

So far we have described occupations in which, to employ the jargon of the economist, the utilities produced by labour were "fixed and embodied in outward objects". It remains to mention a number of occupations where the utilities were "fixed and embodied in human beings (or animals), or consisted in a mere service rendered" (Mill). There were **TEACHERS**, who gave lessons in science and taught the three Vedas (ii. 137 etc. ; **PHYSICIANS**, who carried "sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight", whose stock-in-trade were "healing herbs" and "magic spells" (iv. 361); **SURGEONS**, who could fit a man, who might need it, "with

a false tip to his nose, which was cunningly painted for all the world like a real nose " (i. 455); ELEPHANT TRAINERS, who "tied the elephant fast to a post, and, with goads in their hands, set about training the animal" (i. 415); men who were "skilled in the lore which tells what are good sites for a building" (ii. 297); MUSICIANS, who lived by the practice of their art and played only for a recompense (ii. 254); SNAKE-CHARMERS, who exhibited a monkey "garland on neck, tin earring in each ear . . . . . schooled with sticks to serpent kind draw near" (iv. 311); DRUMMERS, and CONCH-BLOWERS, who earned their living by playing on their instrument at a public festival to the crowds of holiday makers (i. 283-4); BARBERS, "who used to do shaving and hair dressing and cross-plaiting for the royal household, kings and queens, princes and princesses" (ii. 5); ACROBATS, who knew "the javelin dance" (i. 430), and exhibited a "wooden puppet worked by hand" (v. 16); TUMBLERS, who would "roll about and play on the ground" (ii. 142); ACTORS, who sang before crowds (iii. 62), and who were held in such low repute that no well-bred snake would dance in their presence for shame (vi. 191).

## F. CONDITIONS OF WORK

Each workman was a separate unit, and he had to find his own raw material and sell the finished product of his labour. "The workman", as in Europe during the middle ages, "was primarily a trader, and his success depended as much on his shrewdness in trade as on his skill in industry."<sup>\*</sup> Working together was not indeed unknown. We read of some carpenters who followed their craft jointly (ii. 10), and some weavers are elsewhere mentioned as plying their trade in common and sharing their gains (iv. 475). And the existence of craft villages was probably conducive to some degree of co-operation and specialisation within a particular craft.

It was probably the case that those who followed a trade had some one in authority over them, though the nature and extent of the control is not known. We are told of a smiths' village, which had a "principal smith" who was a favourite of the king (iii. 281). We also read of a master carpenter who had some sort of authority over others. Then there were the "trade-guilds (iv. 411), eighteen in number (vi. 22) of which but four, maçons, blacksmiths, carpenters, and painters, are mentioned by name,<sup>†</sup> (vi. 427), which were all subject to the jurisdiction of the Treasurer (iv. 43). The guilds wielded, no doubt, considerable power over those who followed the various trades, but no information is available on the subject in the stories.

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<sup>\*</sup> Seligman, *Economics*, p. 78.

<sup>†</sup> Rhys Davids, p. 90.

Occupations were hereditary, though there was, as has been pointed out in the section on "Social Grades", nothing to prevent persons from taking up any occupation they liked. But a trade was normally recruited from the families of those who were already in it, and such technical training as was requisite was imparted by the father to the son. Strangers were, however, sometimes taken as assistants.\*

There could obviously be no "wage system". The wages† of a craftsman were the price for the article sold (ii. 18), which included all the elements of the "expenses of production" with which modern economic analysis had made us familiar. The only wages were paid in case of domestic servants, or where assistants were taken, or labourers hired, as in the case of farm work. In these cases, the wages were often paid in kind, for the wage-earner boarded and lodged with the employer, though money wages were also in vogue.

The mediæval institution of individual craftsman depending on rich employers is also to be found in India at this time. Not only had kings special craftsmen, but there is also mentioned "a tailor in the employ of a merchant." (iv. 24)‡

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\* The translators use the word "apprentice"; the word 'assistant' is preferred, as the former has special associations in economics.

† It was not unusual to receive advances of payment for work to be done. (iv. 159).

‡ Cp. "In Palermo, there is a semi-feudal connection between the artisans and their patrons, each carpenter or tailor has one or more large houses to which he looks for employment; and so long as he behaves himself fairly well, he is practically secure from competition" (Marshall, Principles, Vol. I. p. 688 note).

## G. TRADE

Trade was carried on by land and by sea. There is not much information about the sea trade, which must have been considerable, for it had come to be specialised,\* and it is note-worthy that practically all the sea-voyages mentioned in the stories are undertaken by merchants who

Through hope seek treasure far and wide  
And taking ship on ocean's billows ride.

They went "laden with cargo", but whither, we are not always told; the golden land (Pegu) is mentioned three times, and Baveru (Babylon) once. Bharukaccha (the modern Broach) was a well-known port, from which ships set out, but it would appear that sometimes vessels sailed down large rivers to the sea from inland towns, such as Benares and Campa.

Inland trade was important in itself, and also acted as a feeder to the sea-trade. Several trade-routes, used by merchants, are mentioned: East to West, or West to East, which crossed "sixty leagues of desert" (i. 99), probably the sandy desert of Rajaputana; from Benares to Ujjeni (ii. 248); Videha to Gandhara (iii. 365). Sometimes merchants set out on a trading journey in partnership, the profits to be shared in proportion to their respective interest in the stock-in-trade and the oxen and waggons. More often they merely travelled together for safety's sake, with one of their number as leader of the caravan; guards were also engaged, as we have seen, for

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\* "He struck up an intimacy with a land-trader, and a sea-trader" (i. 121).



protection against danger from robbers. We read that on night-fall, the carts were "unyoked and ranged in a circle to form a strong laager . . . (the) men and oxen had their supper early, and . . . the oxen were made to lie down in the middle with the men round them. While (the leader) himself with the leading men of the band, stood on guard, sword in hand, through the three watches of the night, waiting for the day to dawn" (i. 103).

We are not told what commodities were taken by them. Once we are told of "rice, beans, and other grains dropped by passing waggons" (i. 429). Food stuff could hardly have entered in those days into the trade between distant places, and "silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory work, jewelry and gold" were, no doubt, "the main articles in which the merchant dealt."\*

We come across two institutions of importance with regard to the commercial organisation of the time. Market-towns,<sup>†</sup> which we come across often, served as centres of trade in a locality, as the name implies, and were the natural corollary of the specialised industries of villages. They sometimes grew up at the entrances to great cities (vi. 339), and were subject to the jurisdiction of a foreman (vi. 339). Trade with the border was another prominent feature of the time. The "border-merchant" served as a sort of entrepôt. Merchants in capital cities established relations with merchants on the border

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\* Rhys Davids, p. 99.

† "A king . . . shall . . . offer facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, construct pathways for traffic by land and water, and set up market towns (Panyapattana)"—Chanakya, 11. ch. 1.

(i. 451); they would load their carts with local produce, and give orders to the men in charge to go to their correspondents on the border and exchange it for the wares in their shops (i. 377-8). The wares obtained at the border were probably "forest produce", and also possibly goods of other countries.\*

### METHODS OF TRANSACTION

Exchanges took place in three ways. There was, in the first place, the intermediate class of sales, between merchants, with which we have just now been dealing. Then, there were the sales effected by the buyer going to the seller, as happened when goods were brought from a shop. Lastly, there were sellers who went looking out for buyers: hawkers paced the streets with their wares, and went from place to place (iii. 541) with their goods on a donkey (ii. 109) or on a barrow (iv. 333); and horses were taken for sale to kings by the dealers.

Prices were fixed in terms of money, though it was goods that were often exchanged between the parties. Terms were arrived at after haggling, which was "killing work" (i. 99); but notions of a "fair price" prevailed, for "haggling and cheapening" could be over-done and become a sin.† The king made his purchases under special conditions. He had a valuer "who used to value horses, elephants, and the like, and jewels, gold, and

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\* Other people who "intervened" in the sales of the time, which were mostly direct (*i.e.*, between producers and consumers), were green-grocers (i. 412. iv. 445. 449), and corn-factors (iii. 198).

† "Then answered Metali the charioteer.

Describing how sin ripens and bears fruit.

'These men are they who in the market-place

Haggling and cheapening from their greed of gain

Have practised knaving . . . . ." (vi. 113).

the like; and he used to pay over to the owner of the goods the proper price as he fixed it . . . the price was what he said and no other." (i. 124).

Some practices which have a modern air may be noticed in conclusion. A clever youth, who received the earliest intimation of the arrival of a ship in port, proceeded to buy it up on credit, and established a corner in foreign produce, which sent up prices to his immense advantage. (i. 121). He had sometime before sent up the price of grass, by a "limitation of output", in agreement with other "producers" (i. 121).<sup>\*</sup> Elsewhere we come across two dealers in pots and pans who apportioned "the streets between the two of them", and each of whom, "set about hawking his wares round the streets of his district, and the other did the same in his district." It was also agreed between them "that the one might try the streets which the other had already been into" (i. 111).<sup>†</sup>

#### Note : KAVIRAPATTANA

The following description of Kavirapattana (iv. 238), based on old Tamil poems, will be found interesting. Kavirapattana, or Kāvīrapattana, or Kaviripaddanam (the

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<sup>\*</sup> "He said to the mowers (who were under obligation to him) 'I want each of you to-day to give me a bundle of grass and not to sell your own grass till mine is sold.' 'Certainly,' said they and delivered the 500 bundles of grass at his house. Unable to get grass for his horses elsewhere the dealer purchased our friend's grass for a thousand pieces" (i. 121). The corner in foreign produce may take rank with Joseph's "deal" in Egyptian wheat as among the earliest in the history of mankind. It is to be remarked that no condemnation is expressed of these practices. They are related as an evidence of a man's abilities.

<sup>†</sup> "Dividing the streets" is well-known among the coster-mongers of London.

Kamara of the Periplus and Khabaris of Ptolemy), was the capital of the Cholas, and a famous sea-port :—

“ Kaviripaddanam was built on the Northern bank of the Kavari river, which was then a broad and deep stream into which heavily-laden ships entered from the sea without slackening sail. The town was divided into two parts, one of which was called Maruvur-Pakkam and adjoined the sea-coast, and the other, which was situated to the west of it, was called Paddinap-Pakkam. Between these two portions of the city was a large area of open ground, planted with trees at regular intervals, where the great market was held. The principal streets in Paddinap-pakkam were the Royal-street, the Car-street, and the Bazar-street. The merchants, brahmins, farmers, doctors, and astrologers resided in separate streets. Near the beach in Maruvur-Pakkam were raised platforms and godowns and warehouses, with windows like the eyes of the deer, where the goods landed from ships were stored. Here the goods were stamped with the tiger-stamp after the payment of customs duty, and passed on to the merchants' warehouses. Close by were the settlements of the Yavana merchants where many attractive articles were always exposed for sale. Here also were the quarters of foreign merchants who came from beyond the seas, and who spoke various tongues.”

(Kanakasabhai : The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years ago, p. 25).

## H. MONEY AND CREDIT

*Money.* (The references to money and monetary transactions are numerous—more than a hundred, and as the transactors have employed terms of English and Indian coinage, it was hoped that, by obtaining Pali equivalents for a set of representative translations (such as “rupee”, “pence”, “crown”), these references could be analysed and some light thrown on the different forms of money, and their purchasing power. Mr. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library, kindly furnished the writer with the Pali equivalents for twenty-five such references, but it was disappointing to find on an examination of these that no uniform method had been followed by the translators. Thus “Kahapana” is rendered both as “rupee”, and as “penny” (i. 120,) “Kakanika”, as a “farthing” and “half penny” (i. 419); “Masaka” is a “small coin” (iv. 449), a “penny”, an “anna” (ii. 424), and “addhamasaka” is not merely “half an anna” (vi. 346) or “half penny” but also “half-a-farthing” (i. 111). To add to all this, there is nothing in the original to correspond to the “crown” used by the translators. Accordingly it has been necessary to be content with a more meagre treatment of the topic than would have been possible otherwise).

It has been held that while the “artistic coins are of Greek origin, the idea of coining money, and the simple mechanical processes for rude coins were not borrowed from the Greeks”.\* The Jatakas mention coined money of gold, and also coined kahapanas, half-kahapanas, padas or masakas (i. 340) in the frame work. These names

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\* McCrindle. Note kk (quoting Vincent Smith).

represented, it would appear, units of weight, whether gold, silver or copper; Kakanika and Nikkhas were similar units. There is reason to believe, however, that each unit of weight in relation to coinage came to be associated with a particular metal.\*

It is impossible to arrive at any idea of the purchasing power of these units when expressed in coinage, as our information is limited.† A few facts of interest may be mentioned. Two oxen are said to be worth '24 pieces,' while a horse is worth 1,000 pieces (ii. 305-6). A bundle of grass was worth (iii. 130) "two small coins" (masakas, probably), while a "penny" (Kahapana, probably), would buy "a garland with one part of it, perfume with another, and strong drink with a third" (iii. 446), "8 pieces" were a "barber's gift" (iv. 138), and also paid for a ferry across a river (i. 122). The savings of a green-grocer were in the form of Kahapanas and masakas (iv. 449). An ass was worth 8 Kahapanas (vi. 343).

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\* Cp. "The Superintendent of the Mint shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (masha) of any one of the metals, tikshna, trapu, sisa and anjana. There shall be a pana, half a pana, a quarter and one-eighth.

Copper coins made up of four parts of an alloy shall be a mashaka, half a mashaka, Kakani and half a Kakani" (Chanakya II. ch. 12).

"Traders shall every day pay one Kakani to the Superintendent (of weights and measures) towards the charge of stamping the weights and measures" (Ibid II. ch. 19).

† A Kahapana was "a square copper coin weighing about 146 grs. Its purchasing power then was about equivalent to the purchasing power of a shilling" (Rhys Davids, pp. 100-1). Prof. Rhys Davids (relying evidently on Mrs. Rhys David's articles) is also of opinion that "no silver coins were used. There were half and quarter Kahapanas and probably no other sort".

## CREDIT

There were no banks, and rich people had their own strong-boxes or strong rooms. A great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold and jewelry, and these were stowed away in a pillow, or hidden in other convenient places. Another method was to deposit money with friends; but this was attended with difficulties. The friend might spend it away, and offer, instead, his daughter in marriage.

Loans were common, and the familiar figure of the embarrassed debtor flits across the pages of the Jatakas. We are told that "when a man is averse to virtue, a lover of sin, idle, and cruel, wise men do not entrust a loan to him", for the very practical reason that "there is no return from such a debtor." But "when men know that another is skilful, active, virtuous, and generous, they invite him to borrow by the advantages they hold out," because, "when he has done his business, he will bring back what he has borrowed" (vi. 245-6). It is curious that even the "virtuous and generous" man is accredited with merely bringing back "what he has borrowed." There was possibly interest to be paid, but there is no mention of it in the stories.\* Nothing more is known as to the circumstances under which a loan was made, except that a bond was executed by the borrower.

The creditor went about collecting his dues and he could seize property belonging to the debtor in satisfaction of the amount due to him (iii. 66).

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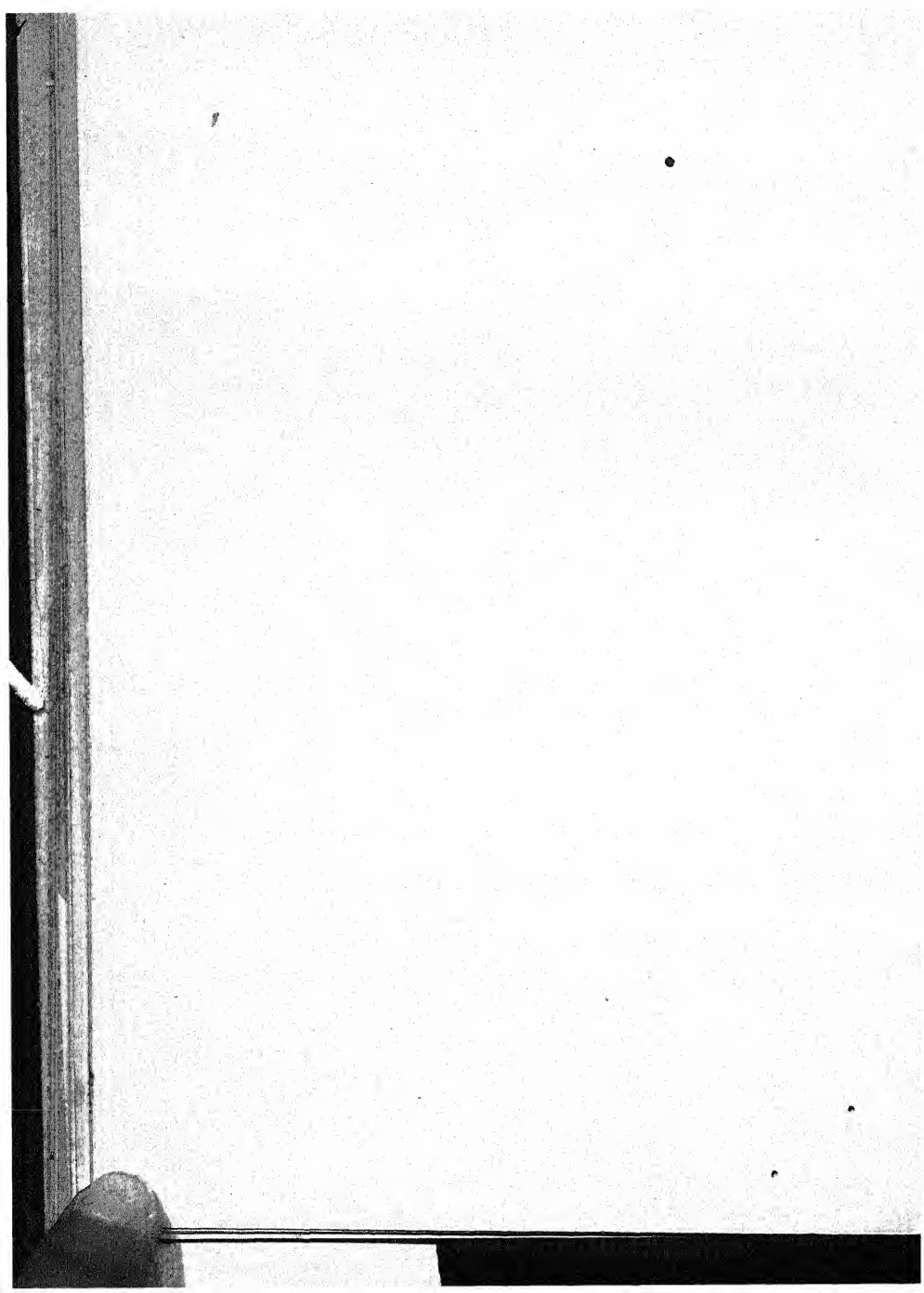
\* Cp. "An interest of a pana and a quarter per month per cent. is just. Five panas per month per cent. is commercial interest. Ten panas per month per cent. prevails among forests (sic). Twenty panas per month per cent. prevails among sea-traders. . . . Interest in grains in seasons of good harvest shall not exceed more than half when valued in money." (Chanakya III. ch. II).



An interesting form of credit, of which we are told, prevailed in commerce. Purchases could be made by a merchant on credit, and he deposited his ring, probably bearing his initials or other mark of identification, as security (i. 121).



V. THE POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC POSITION  
OF WOMEN



## THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN

Under this somewhat ambitious heading, it is intended to bring together the references to the position women held in society in those times. The purpose of the Jatakas is avowedly didactic, and we have to discount the terms in which women are referred to. We may also be sure that while many accepted the teaching of the Buddha as divine, they were in no hurry to fulfil its precepts. Yet it remains, however, a fact that the religion of the time and its teachers succeeded in giving women a low position indeed, and it must have required all Ananda's convincing powers to persuade the Buddha to admit women into the Order.

We are told that it was a bad thing for a land to own "a woman's sway and rule" (i. 155). This was evidently not the opinion of all, for, when a king died, and "other king there was none, the commands of Udayabhadda (the queen) were promulgated, and the courtiers administered the kingdom" (iv. 105). It was also not unusual for a king to leave the kingdom in charge of his mother in his absence, as when he went forth to bring back a truant wife (v. 289), or even when he went out into the country to see how immoral women were (v. 439). We also read that when a king renounced the world, the people "gathered before the palace door and sent in word to the queen. They entered, and saluting the queen, stood on one side," saying—

"It is the pleasure of our noble king  
To be a hermit, leaving every thing.  
So in the king's place now we pray thee stand;  
Cherish the realm, protected by our hand." (iv. 487).

These instances certainly bear out the conclusion that women did frequently rule a country, and their rule was not unacceptable. But we do not hear of women holding any state offices (except in the fanciful case in v. 120, where a female bird is made treasurer), nor do we hear of them as taking any part in the discussion of village affairs, though they join in the good work (i. 201).

Their economic position was one largely of dependence. As a girl, a woman was completely under her father's control, even in the matter of her marriage, as is seen from the fact that the free choice of a husband by a girl was an exceptional boon. Not only was she married against her will (vi. 72), but she was also given away (in marriage) in exchange for money. There was something worse still. It has been pointed out that one form of safe custody of money was depositing it with a family. It happened, sometimes, that as the creditor "was long away, the family spent that money; the other came back and upbraided them, but they could not return the money, and so they gave him their daughter" in marriage. Much love and happiness could naturally not be looked for in such a union, and it is not a matter for surprise to read that it was not unusual for a "wife bought with his gold" to despise her husband, to "regard his kith and kin with ever scornful eyes" (v. 269).

During matrimony, a woman's subjection was no less great. The only reference to a husband's power over his wife is in Vessantara Jataka (No. 547). Vessantara gives away his wife, Maddi, to a Brahmin who begs her of him, and we are told that—

"The Face of Maddi did not frown, she did not chafe or cry,  
But looked on, silent, thinking, he knows best the reason why."

She also says—

“From maidenhood I was his wife, he is my master still :

Let him to whom so he desire or give or sell or kill ” (vi. 570).

Allowing for the obvious anxiety to exaggerate Maddi's devotion and love, the passage is significant of the ideas prevailing at the time, with regard to the duties and status of a wife.

Some passages must be noticed which seem to warrant that a woman could marry again, under exceptional circumstances, during the life-time of her husband, Pabhavati, a princess of Madda, was deceived into marrying Prince Kusa, of Kusavati, who was very plain, and on learning the truth, she thought, “ what have I to do with such an ugly husband? If I live, I will have another husband”, and fled to her father's city (v. 288). Several kings come to seek her hand, and there is no suggestion that this was in any way unusual. Vessantara, on his banishment, thus exhorted Maddi, before he was aware of her determination to accompany him—

“ To him who will thy husband be, do service, nothing loth,

And if no man should wish to be thy husband, when I'm gone

Go seek a husband for thyself, but do not pine alone ” (vi. 495).

It was not uncommon for women to work for a livelihood. Agriculture gave them some work, in the shape of watching (vi. 336), and weaving formed another occupation (vi. 26) ; but they were employed mostly in domestic service, as waiting-women, maids, and nurses. Another means of livelihood was the shady one of prostitution. It was a recognised institution, and a prostitute could go before the judges and ask them for advice with regard to her liabilities to her patrons (ii. 380), but expressions like “ a vile trade ” (iii. 60), a “ house of ill-fame ” (iv. 249), “ this bad life of mine ” (iii. 436) show that the moral aspect of the occupation was not lost sight of.

## CONCLUSION

Our task is over; we have endeavoured to suffer no detail to escape us that might throw any light on the political and economic life of the India of the Jatakas. Notwithstanding probable errors of perspective and detail, the picture is clear enough. The people followed their simple occupations in quiet and contentment, although the fickleness of Nature and the ambitions or cruelties of kings often brought on misery and suffering. Nature responded generously to the rudimentary agriculture of man. The crafts, though pursued on primitive lines, often produced works of great beauty and delicacy. Trade was brisk, and bold adventurers hazarded the sea. Dignity of labour obtained in the land, and caste had not yet developed in all its vigour. But the lot of the Candala, who was outside the pale of society, was hard, and women no longer held the position of dignity and self-respect they had enjoyed earlier in the history of India.

Twenty-five centuries and more have past, and what of the land and its people to-day? At first it appears as though the light were subdued, and the shadow deepened in the picture. Agriculture is as primitive as before, and the fickleness of Nature no less pronounced. The crafts have lost what inspiration they possessed, and become more and more mechanical. The people have lost the contact with the sea, which has been such a powerful factor in civilisation. The caste-system, which has been of such sinister significance in the history of the country, is dying hard. Of the Candala, it can be said even now that—

“No roof to shelter from the sky, amid the dogs he lay,  
His mother nursed him as she walked. . . .” (iv. 400).

The position which women occupy in society deservedly places the people low in the scale of civilisation.

But there are new features, which are full of promise and hope. The close tie with England has not only spread peace and order throughout the country, and given it a unity it never possessed before, but has also introduced great dynamic forces. The West, contact with which is, however, novel only in its continuity, stands now for capitalistic production in the field of industry, for nationalism and representative government in that of politics, and these ideas are moving in the land.

Nor is this all. The gospel that was preached by the Jordan has travelled to India by way of Europe, and the influence it has exercised on modern Indian thought is deep and far-reaching. It is to be discerned not so much in the admissions to the Christian fold, or in movements like the Bramo Samaj, as in the gradual and steady breaking down of artificial social distinctions, and above all in the spirit of social service, which inspires the changed attitude towards the "depressed classes." The working of these forces in the land will be watched by every lover of India with trembling and hope; the outcome is on the knees and between the hands of the gods.





## APPENDIX

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"The wrappings of manuscripts were sometimes" brilliantly coloured (iii. 285)
  22. i. 330, 478, iii. 257, iv. 466, v. 284, vi. 333
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  33. iii. 40, iv. 216-7, 22, 367, v. 177, 467, vi. 328; drinking festivals are also mentioned: i. 362, 489, ii. 240, v. 427, vi. 161. People must have become very temperate in later times, for we are told that they had "no shambles or wine-shops in their market-places in the 5th century A.D. (Beal, I. xxxviii)
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THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

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vi. 2.



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## ERRATA

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In the list of authorities, for "The Jataka : 6 Vols", read "The Jataka, 6 Vols".

Page 2, line 18,                    place full-stop instead of comma after "exaggeration".

„ 5, „ 22,                    supply full-stop after "scorched up".

„ 6, „ 1,                    for "even" read "ever".

„ 8, foot note, line 8, for "Clay Cart Act X" read "Clay Cart, Act X".

„ 34, line 2,                    for "taxes (ii. 240), sometimes" read "taxes (ii. 240). Sometimes"

„ 37, foot note, line 1, omit the full stop after "men"

„ 42, „ „ 4, for "of the Haihaya Muir, op. cit. p. 486, note 3", read "of the Haihayas (Muir, op. cit. p. 486, note 3)".

„ 45, line 7,                    for "Haihaya" read "Haihayas".

„ „ footnote, line 3, for "Mahismati", read "Mahishmati".

„ 47, line 17,                    for "Vanka" read "Vamka".

„ 48, line 13,                    for "kings" to live" &c., read "kings "to live" &c.

„ 65, foot note, line 2, for "(king)", read "(the king)".

„ 68 line 2,                    for "a hunting", read "a-hunting".

„ 70, line 18,                    for "chains", read "chairs".

„ 80, footnote, line 8, for "knaving", read "knavery".

„ 85, line 19,                    for "accredited", read "credited".

Appendix, line 2, after "based" read "in addition to those indicated in the text".